

**DISCOURSE SHIFTS IN THE TRANSLATION OF POLITICALLY
SENSITIVE TEXTS WITH RELEVANCE TO ENGLISH/ARABIC
MEDIA TEXTS**

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ABSTRACT

The broad aim of this study is to investigate political sensitivity in media translations from English into Arabic, especially during times of political struggle. The study takes as its starting point the assumption that the analysis of the discourse shifts practised in real-life translations can in fact unravel the crucial ideological and pragmatic factors that underlie the final production of politically motivated language/translation. The study seeks to identify and explain the crucial factors that may characterize politically sensitive discourses and the text strategies that articulate them. It further designs an innovative discourse analysis scheme where the strategic components of context (e.g. hegemony, power and commission) and text strategy (e.g. syntax, semantics and speech acting) of a politically sensitive text in the source language and target language can be practically described and compared. These issues are investigated in a corpus of English media texts, along with their respective translations into the Arab media, to investigate the prevalent linguistic trends that can contribute to making a politically sensitive text legitimate and credible to its targeted audience. Qualitative methods of analysis are used from work in a number of areas, including Marxist philosophy, critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and functional linguistics. The study concludes that recurrent preferences in transitivity, modality, texture, speech acts and politeness strategies were found to be similar in virtually all media texts with the cumulative effect of categorizing political groups and exacerbating power differences with those perceived as outgroups.

DEDICATION

For all the innocent civilians who died in the Middle East conflict at the time of the submission of the final version of this thesis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Agence France Presse
BT	Back Translation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CP	Cooperative Principle
FTA	Face Threatening Act
H	Addressee
ISAs	Ideological State Apparatuses
ME	Middle East
PP	Politeness Principle
S	Speaker
ST	Source Text
TT	Target Text
US	United States

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Initial Observations

A substantial amount of work has been published on political discourse in the media and the critical linguistics' analysis of political texts; however, much less would seem to be available on the discourse of politically sensitive texts (e.g. Baker, 1997; Schäffner, 1997 and 2003). The available studies tend to be rather general and suggest further research on the constraints which surround sensitive assignments or further enquiry into text strategy.

What is of concern here is that, in recent years, the Arab media have raised the subject of foreign ideology, colonizing terminology, or hegemonic discourses that can be channelled by journalists and translators during times of political crisis from western media sources into the Arab media, hence threatening established orders and regimes of truth in the Middle East¹. Warnings by Arab intellectuals and leaders against the use of foreign discourses such as *the security fence* or *Palestinian suicide bombings* which might cause irritation and offence on the part of the Arab audience, brings to attention political sensitivity in media translation. This study aims to show that the translation of politically sensitive texts deserves a close inspection by critical discourse studies as well as modern translation studies on ideology - an area that has been relatively neglected.

Another motivation for this study was the wish to examine the function of discourse shifts in real-life political translations carried out by professional translators working for influential media institutions in the Middle East. For instance, learning from professional translators who work for leading television stations that they produce habitual shifts such as *the invading U.S. forces in Iraq* vs. *U.S. forces in Iraq*, or *the region of Kashmir occupied by India* vs. *the disputed region of Kashmir*, or even reading on Reuters Arabic Online Report a translation like *Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation* vs. *violence* as was actually represented in the original English text in Reuters, raise another controversial issue that captures attention. This particular translation act is worthy of investigation because, despite the fact that it sidelines many of the prescriptive or normative approaches to translation, it proves to be a consistent strategic practice under particular conditions, “legitimate”, “objective”, “polite”, “credible”, and “relevant” to a

¹ See section 3.6 for details.

very large Arab audience worldwide as described by the editors and translators of these media agencies (refer to sections 3.6, 5.3.4.2, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 for details on these descriptions).

In view of recent research into cognition and the descriptive nature of texts (e.g. Sperber and Wilson, 1986; Van Dijk, 1998) and a descriptive approach to translation (e.g. Hermans, 1999), it is plausible to suggest that the phenomenon of discourse shifts during the translations of sensitive news reports should be investigated in its own right rather than dismissing shifts as errors and outside the scope of the translation proper. This debate will enable us to disclose the urgent contextual factors and the particular text strategies characterizing politically motivated texts in the media that should be further investigated and developed in recent discourse-oriented models of analysis.

Translation theory, in its critically-oriented form (e.g. Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997), applied and professional form (e.g. Skopos theory by Vermeer, 1996, 2000), functionalist approach (e.g. House, 1997; Nord, 1991, 1997), cognition and relevance approach (e.g. Gutt, 2000) and postcolonial approach (e.g. Robinson, 1997), has in various ways prepared the ground for the way a political discourse can be analysed. However, to date there has not been a comprehensive and corpus-based study on the translation of politically sensitive discourses or what may even be seen in the target situation as politically biased discourses.

1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The broad aims of this study are twofold:

- to investigate political sensitivity in media translation from English into Arabic via discourse shifts, particularly during times of political struggle;
- to define the important ideological, social and cognitive structures as well as the linguistic strategies that, in general, characterize politically sensitive discourses.

What exactly is meant here by a politically sensitive discourse? Lee, R. (1993) argues that by doing research on sensitive topics “researchers often trespass into areas which are controversial or involve social conflict” (Lee, R. 1993: 4). In this study, it is assumed that the producers of political news reports tend to reproduce the dominant ideologies of their own society and design their texts for their recipients in such a way that preferred ideas or

ideological polarization can be represented and eventually accepted unless questioned by the commissioner in the target text. Therefore, in this study we seek to unveil these sensitive and controversial factors, in both source texts and target texts, that can in fact yield a specific text strategy which self-serves dominant hegemonies and biased classifications.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- to develop a multidisciplinary theoretical framework capable of investigating politically sensitive language;
- to identify some of the urgent contextual factors that constrain the production and interpretation of a political discourse;
- to identify a set of analytical tools appropriate for the investigation of social struggle, social beliefs, power inequality, plans and intentions in a sensitive media text;
- to bring classical work on ideology from levels of abstraction to detailed practical and empirical analysis;
- to examine and apply a number of concepts from translation theories that may be needed in our new framework of analysis;
- to develop the notion of relevance in translation and show its actual manifestation in the text strategy;
- to describe the translation strategy that seems to be at work during discourse shifts in order to avoid what can be seen in the target situation as ideological threat;
- to design a practical model to analyse politically sensitive discourses at both contextual and linguistic levels;
- to conduct a contrastive analysis between the source English texts and the target Arabic media texts based on the theoretical constructs and model of analysis suggested in this study. The various samples utilized in the study should produce generalisable arguments and explanations;
- to identify the common text strategies that can be used by powerful media institutions to categorize groups (i.e. ingroups vs. outgroups) to sell news, and to reproduce dominant hegemonies.

This study does not aim to justify discourse shifts in political translations. Rather, based on pragmatic and functional language analysis of textual evidence and by considering such evidence within contexts and constraints given by media editors, translators and

elites as we will explore in this study, the project aims to suggest reasons for the legitimate practices of shifts in daily translation in the Arabic media. It will therefore be argued that these reasons which interact with the language functions and map on the text strategies are critical and important to examine not only in the target situation but also in the critical analysis of any ideologically motivated or sensitive text.

Further, it is argued that the text strategy found via discourse shifts is the same type of text strategy that can be found in any politically sensitive or biased discourse and therefore needs to be described, interpreted and explained within the suggested models of this study. Hence, the present study attempts to identify the important set of the contextual constraints as well as the text strategies that seem to be at work in any politically sensitive discourse.

1.3 Corpus and Methodological Tools

The data for this study consist of a corpus of English-language news reports produced by Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters, and Arabic-language news reports produced by Al-Manar T.V. Satellite Station (a very popular Arabic TV Satellite Station) and Reuters Arabic Online Report.² Given the aims of the study, it was considered essential that every news report produced in the target language (in Arabic) should be a journalistic translation equivalent to that produced in the source language (in English), i.e. reflecting the same sensitive political events, but to a different audience (a large Arab audience).³

The corpus was analysed by mainly qualitative means as follows:

- utilizing concepts and methods of work in the fields of semiotics, the Marxist philosophy on ideology, systemic-functional linguistics, pragmatics, critical discourse studies, postcolonial theory, sociolinguistics, descriptive and functionalist approaches to translation, and British media studies in order to give this research the multi-dimensionality and complexity needed for analyses and explanations and to produce well-founded contextual and textual generalities;

² Reuters has launched the Reuters Arabic Online Report, a comprehensive multimedia news publication for Arabic language publishers around the world.

³ A detailed account of the corpus is given in section 6.1.

- interviewing translators and editors from Al-Manar TV and Reuters headquarters in Beirut to understand and resolve the practical and moral implications of shifts in political translation (refer to Appendix D) ;
- integrating essential feedback provided by many students from ‘The Languages and Translation Centre’ at the Lebanese University, who studied principles of functional grammar, pragmatics and discourse analysis while analysing the same corpus during their first, second and third years of study. This qualitative method contributes to the depth, practicality and objective aims of this research, hence making it more accountable for its quality and its claims (refer to Appendix C);
- comparing the content and style of texts in the corpus with similar texts on the same event published by leading newspapers in the West and in the Middle East. The mechanism of comparison carried out during the course of analysis will make us develop more meaningful and generalisable arguments and draw up some logical explanations sensitive to real-world contexts and descriptions (refer to Appendix B).

1.4 Content and Structure of the Thesis

In this study we shall gradually develop the meaning of politically sensitive discourse by identifying its subjective system of meanings, the ideological, social and cognitive structures which underlie both its production and interpretation, as well as its articulation via language use in the media. More specifically, its articulation via the text strategy followed in the translation of politically sensitive news reports. By text strategy we mean the prevailing linguistic trends which the text producers tend to select at the structural, textual and pragmatic levels of the text to articulate a politically sensitive context and to create special effects (see chapter 4 for precise definitions of discourse and text strategy). The summarized content of the following chapters will give a broader conception of the social and ideological study of politically sensitive language:

Initially, in Chapter 2 we develop a semiotic framework that can explain how political signs (e.g. words, acts or images) encountered in a political media text can be subjectively categorized or interpreted. A number of approaches, notably structuralist, poststructuralist and social semiotics, will therefore be surveyed in an attempt to identify sources, models, functions and contexts necessary for the investigation of the invisible and connotative

meanings of concepts, structures and text strategy in a politically sensitive news report. This theoretical construct will pave the way for the analysis of the subjective dimensions of context in Chapter 6 and will inform our analysis of the interpretive vs. descriptive use of translation. The poststructuralist approach will also prove useful by informing the analyst of a sensitive discourse of how to drop one's subjective mask to reach reliable analysis and interpretations without resorting to taken-for-granted conceptual or social systems.

In Chapter 3 we develop an ideological framework within which we can investigate the question of the ideology that controls the invisible meanings of political signs and sustains the subjective representations and interpretations of a particular political event. The suggested framework gives an account of the Marxist view on ideology, and then adds the modern conceptions of ideologies of resistance, racist ideologies and ideology and reading positions in the media. The framework finally suggests an empirical perspective via which theoretical debates on hegemony or counter-hegemony can be tested. This overall ideological construct will make it possible to define some of the major ideological layers of context which need to be considered at the macro-level of analysis; to investigate the ideological content of the media text; to explain the ideological role of the translator and to guide similar research on how ideology can in theory de/legitimate major shifts in translation - thus adding new constraints to this translation strategy.

In Chapter 4 we develop a critical discourse study of politically sensitive media texts to show how dominant ideologies or biased mental representations can be reproduced and expressed via language use itself. First, we review the contribution of influential critical language and discourse scholars in order to set out a view of the interrelationship of language on the one hand and power, solidarity, cognitive bias and discrimination on the other, and to show the specific procedures for critical discourse analysis. Then, we design and discuss a practical model with selected linguistic features for the analysis of text strategy that can be followed in politically sensitive discourses. The suggested model will be thoroughly examined in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 5 we develop a translation study framework within which we can assess the contribution of main translation theories to our debate on politically sensitive discourses. After reviewing the contribution of pre-discourse vs. discourse approaches to the translation phenomenon under the current study, we develop a non-prescriptive model in

a novel way, in order to describe the phenomenon of shifts in translation in its own right; to define its translation strategy, function and pragmatic use; and to show the critical role translators play in the media society. The non-prescriptive approach of this study combines insights from descriptive approaches, target-oriented approaches (e.g. skopos theory), pragmatic approaches (e.g. relevance theory) and the philosophical and ideological approaches that deal with colonization and hegemony in translation. The chapter also aims to expand on some notions from skopos, relevance and postcolonial theories that could deal with the translation of ideologically motivated texts. Both prescriptive and descriptive approaches defined in this chapter will identify the crucial constraints that should be taken into consideration in the translation analysis of a politically sensitive text.

Attention in Chapter 6 then turns to the discourse analysis of politically sensitive texts as seen through the shifts in translation. At first, we discuss the creation of the corpus used in the present study. Then, we create a discourse analysis scheme capable of analysing the present corpus and being generalized to analyse other ideologically motivated discourses. The proposed scheme will analyse and test two interlinked networks: the crucial contextual factors that constrain the productions of politically sensitive texts as defined in the previous chapters, and the linguistic features of text strategy that articulate them. The scheme aims to demonstrate how abstract notions on ideology, cognition and commission can be practically and functionally tested and how the semantic, structural or pragmatic characteristics of the text can describe them. The concluding remarks on text strategy will summarize the common linguistic features that can be used to describe and categorize groups in politically sensitive texts.

Finally, Chapter 7 reviews the objectives of this study and restates the main findings of the analyses, pointing in particular to the link between tendencies in the use of certain linguistic strategies in politically sensitive discourses and the contextual frameworks that constrain them. It concludes with the important way in which such research can feed into wider sets of ideological issues in the media, political discourse analysis and the training of translators, and suggests areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPING A SEMIOTIC FRAMEWORK TO INVESTIGATE THE MOTIVATED MEANINGS OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TEXTS

2.1 Introductory Remarks

This chapter proposes a semiotic framework through which the analyst of a politically motivated text can approach the invisible or conventional meanings of the political signs (e.g. words, or acts in a political event) seen via the shifts in translation. Only by making these meanings visible, can one begin to understand, explain and interpret the subjective dimensions of a politically motivated context. Here, the subjective dimensions mean the non-neutral meanings that characterize a politically sensitive or motivated discourse. Therefore, an awareness of signs and their interpretations is needed at the outset of the present study in order to reveal how meanings are unconsciously constructed and interpreted in the cognitive environment to serve the functioning of dominant ideologies.

The semiotic analysis construct of this study will be based upon core theories in semiotics. These theories will give an adequate explanation of how one invests signs with a politically sensitive meaning according to established conventions. In section 2.2 we first review the fundamental contributions of Saussure and Peirce to the study of the sign and its signification to create an initial awareness of the paradigmatic choices made in political discourses and how we render them credible and relevant. Section 2.3 offers additional insights into the social and marked meanings of the political sign. Later on, section 2.4 invites us to examine and deconstruct the historical and established orders of meanings which are capable of masking a whole sign system of knowledge. Finally, section 2.5 concludes the system of meanings that underlies the political sign to be further analysed and described under ideological and critical discourse studies in the following chapters.

2.2 The Sign - A Foundational Approach

2.2.1 The Saussurean Approach

This section deals with the Saussurean dyadic model of the sign which forms the ground base upon which further studies of the sign have developed. A simple illustration of Saussure's structuralist approach to language would be that the sign means the combination of the “**signifier**” and the “**signified**”. The signifier is the carrier of meaning - Saussure's primary concern, whereas the signified is the mental concept. This dyadic entity, which gives the sign its signification and fundamental role in our social life, can be illustrated by the following example taken from the main corpus of this study (refer to Appendix A for further information on the main texts of Reuters, AFP and Al-Manar):

An excerpt from Reuters A, Appendix A:

Powell got a first-hand view of the carnage in Jerusalem...

Here, the signifier is the word or the material aspect which can be seen, e.g. the word *carnage* and the signified is the mental concept, i.e. Israeli people killed in a scene of bloodshed.

Within the Saussurean model, both the signifier and the signified are related by a conventional relationship or code where one particular word corresponds to one particular idea in an arbitrary way. To expound, Saussure notes that signifiers are imposed on us, that is to say they are inherited and users have no choice but to accept their inherited signification that has become established in the language system. The habit of attaching a certain lexical word to its “conventional” signified from an abstract linguistic system rests in principle upon a collective tradition. Furthermore, Saussure emphasized that the signs in the language system which he named “Langue”⁴ have interdependent relations where meaning or “value” arises from the differences between signifiers. The differences can be envisaged on two structural axes, the “**syntagmatic**” (concerning combination or positioning) and the “**paradigmatic**” (concerning selection or substitution). The plane of syntagm can be seen in words linked or chained according to syntactic rules (e.g. *Powell got a first-hand view of the carnage in Jerusalem*). A linguistic element such as *view* signifies because it combines with other elements/signifiers in the same sentence in a specific syntactic or sequential order to form a syntagm. In addition to this linear combination, signification takes place on a different axis. In this way, *carnage* can have

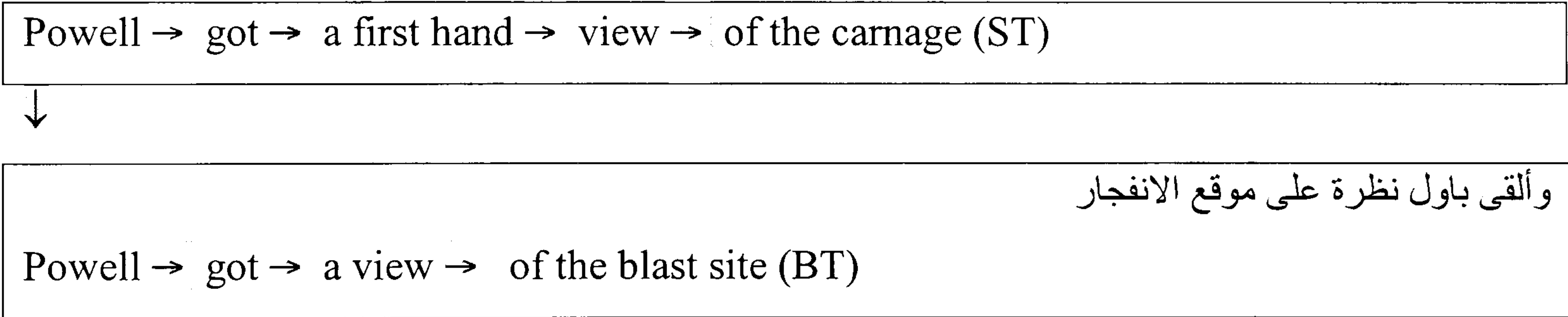
⁴ According to Saussure, Langue or the language system which comprises a system of signs is an abstract system of rules that underlies the human speech “Parole”.

paradigmatic relations with one of the following signifiers which are absent from the sentence, for example:

- ↓ *Friday’s bombing*
- ↓ *the blast site*

This rule regarding sign selection can be envisaged on a “vertical axis”. The syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes are the very foundation of approaching the contrastive analysis in this study. For example, the discourse analysis scheme in Chapter 6 will refer to this structuralist approach to the sign by looking at the particular syntactic structures of words and the choices made by the text producer. Syntagms and paradigms provide a structural context within which political signs become socially or ideologically meaningful to their respective users/ audiences. Obviously, our functional approach to the political sign will be based upon social and ideological differences and oppositions rather than adopting the notion that signifiers have fixed conventional meanings as proposed by Saussure.

To illustrate, the above ST structure (*Powell got a first-hand view of the carnage in Jerusalem*) should be assessed by looking at the equivalent relations of combination and substitution in the TT. The structure of this sentence along with its translation (refer to media text labelled Reuters A, Appendix A) can be envisaged in figure 2.1⁵:



Another example taken from the same Reuters text:

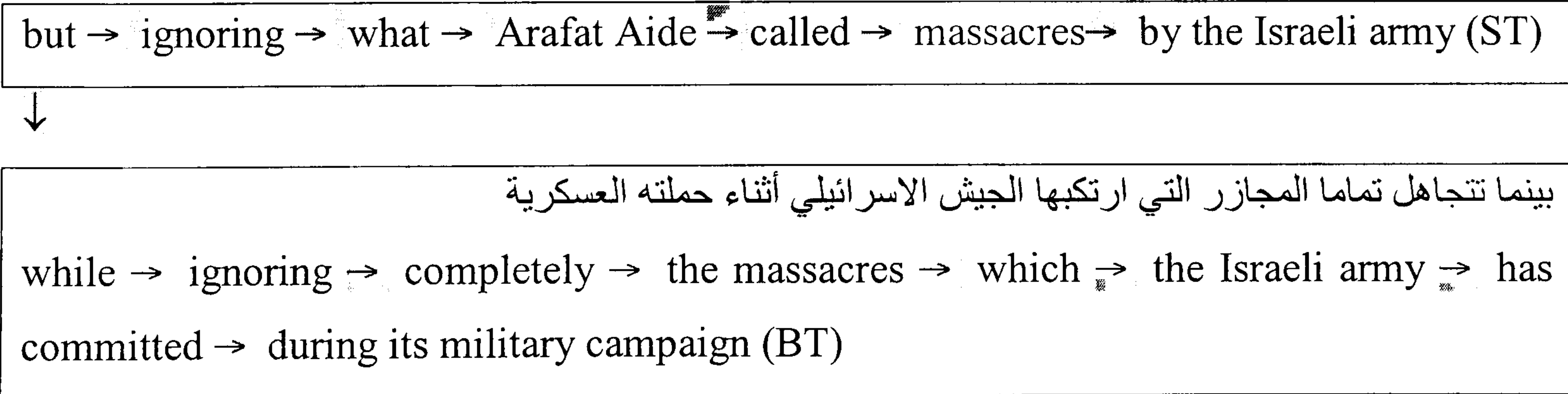


Figure 2.1 The syntagmatic (→) and paradigmatic (↓) structures to be examined in a politically sensitive text

⁵ Hodge and Kress (1988) state that agents, objects, actions and circumstances should be classified and reclassified on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic planes.

The above translation reveals a new surface structure in the TT. The signs or the linguistic elements are combined and arranged in a different way, e.g. by adding the evaluative adverb *completely*. Similarly, the paradigmatic relations unravel the new choices or relations of substitutionality to articulate particular belief systems and involved functions. The paradigmatic axis will be further explored in the functional content analysis in Chapter 6.

According to the Saussurean approach, it should be assumed that the link between a signifier (e.g. *the blast site*) and the signified ‘where the bombing took place’ is not motivated. Rather, it is a conventional use by the text producer or the translator. It is the classical case of red meaning ‘stop’ in the case of traffic lights, that is to say, a denotational relationship. To follow Saussure’s theory, translation should be an easy matter that causes no serious shifts in translation. If carnage signifies bloodshed of the innocent, then the TT should be bound by this arbitrary dictated relationship. Signifieds would be replaced regardless of the sensitive communicative function between the translator and the audience. However, the consistent occurrences of shifts we will observe in this study will prove that many signifiers have been replaced in the TT because they are politically and ideologically motivated. Nevertheless, Saussure’s structuralist base within which signs are interpreted is pivotal to the understanding of how the translator is aware of foreign and recognized codes in the ST; that is to say their signification that is established on a particular combination axis and a particular selection axis to make them ideologically “functional” in the source culture. This functional concept will have a bearing upon further functional analysis in this study, especially when the marked linguistic choices in section 6.3 have to be probed on the paradigmatic plane.

In conclusion, motivated shifts should be identified in terms of the new framing of the TT code, namely the new sequential chain along with its own “associative” relations. In politically sensitive texts the structure tends to take a particular form and a particular content, as illustrated in the above examples. However, it is still necessary to see how these fixed codes imposed by a media society have ideological complexities, for Saussure saw signs as merely having internal relationships in a collective system. He never explained how this social determination really works. Describing it as “arbitrary” is not sufficient. Our conception of the code that manifests itself in the text strategy of a politically sensitive report is not so simplistic as Saussure’s analysis where realities can be constructed merely by arbitrariness. But before investigating the other invisible

meanings of the sign, it is necessary to test another fundamental role of the sign in political reports, in other words, to examine its logic and pragmatic meaning to see how one further makes sense of the sign.

2.2.2 The Peircean Approach

This approach deals with a triadic model of the sign. The American pragmatist philosopher Charles Peirce has also introduced an influential model of the sign that has inspired many semioticians and translation theorists. Meaning is not seen here in terms of language structure, i.e. the value of the sign is no longer constrained between a signifier and a signified. Signs start to have successive interpretations when a signified can even become a signifier. It is necessary at this stage to enter the mind of the interpreter of the sign and see how media users “**make sense**” of realities. In this concern, meaning is a process involving three elements in a triadic model:

- 1- The “**representamen**”: the form of the sign, for example the word *Hezbollah* in an AFP text.
- 2- The “**interpretant**”: the understanding or sense one makes of the above word (e.g. terrorists vs. freedom fighters).
- 3- The “**object**”: The thing which the sign stands for (i.e. militant group/ guerrilla fighters vs. a legitimate organization).

Peirce’s interpretant is similar to Saussure’s signified. Similarly, interpretation comes from conventional rules or habits. However, the interpretant is not constrained within the sign. It is triggered through the individual’s interpretation, i.e. more or less cognitive. The interpretant itself could be a sign triggering further interpretants in one’s mind. As Peirce notes, “a sign is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity” (cited in Eco, 1984: 14). This definition is essential to “meaning-making” of which the text receiver is normally unaware. For instance, a sign like *a Palestinian bomber* stands for *a terrorist* to a westerner. Paradoxically, it stands for *a martyr* to an Arab. This is because different subjects (see also 3.2) interpret objects by means of their own conventions and habits.

Peirce’s action of the sign is fundamental to our understanding of the subjective and cognitive dimensions of context, since the political sign can only make sense and be relevant when it is shared between the sign producer and the interpreter of the sign. What

is actually happening in shifts is that the translator decides to empty the ST sign of its original validity and response because s/he shares a different sense with the Arab audience. This brings to attention the taken-for-granted beliefs that give the political text its sensitivity (see also relevance section 5.3.4.2 and cognition section 6.2.4). As we observe here, the translator chooses to replace signs rather than relaying the ST form or interpretant. It seems to be a prior decision that foreign interpretants which are politically sensitive should be constantly replaced. Observe how Al-Manar translators, for example, opt for the following translation in a consistent manner (refer to Appendix A):

(AFP source texts)	(Al-Manar target texts)
<i>Israeli forces</i>	<i>Zionists</i> (الصهاينة)
<i>Palestinian suicide bombers</i>	<i>Martyrs</i> (الشهداء)

The role of the translator as ‘interpreter’ of the political sign cannot be ignored here. The translator is mindful of both the original interpretant and of mediating his/her own conventional habits in such situations. However, Peirce’s reference to “habits” is not sufficient here as he did not provide details on this social mechanism. Other factors may also be involved to cause these shifts. Social habits or conventions cannot motivate this systematic use in translation. We may then conclude that ideological forces are more responsible for the malfunctioning of the ST triadic action into the TT.

In other words, politically sensitive meanings in the ST are not merely constrained by particular collective habits. According to Peirce, the interpretant validates the sign according to social habits or conventional constraints. However, this is only the first stage of the translator’s understanding of the sign. The second stage is relating the sign’s validity to the translator’s dominant ideologies. It is obvious here that in a politically sensitive media report, the journalistic translator does not interpret signs simply according to habit, otherwise the same ST interpretants would be relayed into the TT. Here, translation cannot be seen simply as a matter of submitting to the force of the ST sign. The translator is obviously relaying his/her own interpretants in a new form.

At a later stage, a poststructuralist approach should demonstrate how Saussure’s or Peirce’s “conventional rules” of a society associate an object with what poststructuralists call a “fabricated code”. But as an introductory step, it is necessary to examine in the following section the socially functional meanings of the sign. Exploring how these

functional meanings start breaking away from the abstract and habitual interpretation of the sign will help find links between marked linguistic structures and ideological values.

2.3 The Socio-Functional Approach to the Sign

2.3.1 Language as Social Semiotic (The Hallidayan Approach)

The functional approach of **social semiotic** will build on Saussure's structuralist base (syntagmatic and paradigmatic). However, the interpretation of the sign will be closely attached to wider social contexts. We will explore in this section that signs cannot construct realities merely from conventional, internal or abstract systems. The Hallidayan framework overcomes some of the flaws that have been attributed to the arbitrary and conventional interpretation of the sign. Halliday's influential work (1978) broadens the understanding of semiotic studies in that he promotes the socio-cultural meaning of the sign. In contrast with Saussure, Halliday does not see language as a set of formal rules corresponding to an abstract system imposed on us. Neither is it "an aggregate of conventional forms of expression" (Halliday, 1978: 111). However, the exchange of meaning responds to social values and a whole culture. According to Halliday, language is dealt with in use (*parole*). Signs must be related to surrounding events, users and relationships between individuals which are part of the structure of society. Halliday builds on concepts laid by Malinowski and Firth regarding the context of situation - a situation that generates texts and discourses where language becomes "functional" and "communicative".

Halliday has laid down a very important triadic system of meaning: meaning as "content", "participation" and "texture". These meanings we make are termed by Halliday "functional- semantic components". To illustrate, Halliday (1978, 1994) defines three meta-functions in the semantic system:

1- "**Ideational**": meaning as "content constructing a model of experience".

The ideational or the representational meaning is concerned with what the news event is about, i.e. expressing content and world view.

Example: *A Palestinian suicide bomber killed 6 Israelis* (a recurrent representation in Reuters English) vs. *a young Palestinian woman who blew herself up killing 6 Israelis* (a recurrent representation in Reuters Arabic).

2- "**Interpersonal**": meaning as "participation enacting social relationships".

The interpersonal meaning is concerned with what the news event is doing, either as a written or verbal exchange between a text producer and a text receiver to convey the speaker's relationship with his/her audience.

Example: *The morning rush-hour bombing* (Reuters English) vs. *The Palestinian attack which took place on Tuesday morning* (Reuters Arabic).

3- “**Textual**”: meaning as “texture creating relevance to context”.

The textual meaning is concerned with how the news report is organized with relation to the surrounding situation or discourse. Through the textual function, the construction of political texts becomes possible or “enabled”.

Example: *Armed Palestinians... radical Islamic movement Hamas...* (English media texts) vs. *Palestinian martyrs... Islamic resistance group Hamas* (Arabic media texts).

Viewed in this way, Halliday's approach seems to distinguish in language use a referential or cognitive function seen within the ideational meta-function, and a non-referential or expressive/ emotive function seen within the interpersonal meta-function.

Furthermore, Halliday's semiotic system links language to two types of variation:

1-Variety according to “user”, which is related to geography, dialects, class, age or sex.

2- Variety according to “use”, which he terms “register” variation.

Register, according to Halliday, reflects the social code. It is the style of language behaviour that members of a certain culture associate with a given social setting and purpose, e.g. register of journalism vs. register of child talk. In Halliday's words “a register is what you are speaking’ (at the given time), determined by ‘what you are doing’, the nature of the ongoing social activity.” (1978: 185). The semiotic components of the situation or register are the following:

“Field” (i.e. subject matter) related to the ideational function.

“Tenor” (i.e. role relationship) related to the interpersonal function.

“Mode” (i.e. medium or channel) related to the textual function.

Halliday's theory of social semiotic along with its important definitions and functional meanings will be a cornerstone of the analysis of the corpus of this study. To illustrate, the line of research will show how this triadic system of meaning is actualized by a range of textual devices such as:

- “Transitivity” responding to the ideational or representational meaning or function; that is to say, what the clause is representing, its process, participants and circumstances.
- “Mood and modality” responding to the interpersonal function; namely, whether the text producer performs the function of informing or evaluating.
- “Themes and cohesion” responding to the textual function; in other words, how the ST/TT is actualized in terms of structure and texture.

At this point it can be seen that signifiers or objects in ST/TT become functional linguistic choices. That is, the ideational and interpersonal functional choices made in the TT should now be compared with those made in the ST. The following example taken from AFP A (Appendix A) may be considered here:

The case of Barta’a near Kfar Salem is a case in point.

Al-Manar translation:

وتمثل حالة قرية برطعة القريبة من كفر سالم مثالا حيا على سياسة القضم

BT:

The case of the village of Barta’a near Kfar Salem is a live example of this policy of land grabbing.

Here, it can be seen that the representation in the TT is motivated by different social and experiential meanings, i.e. the political signs are no longer arbitrary but triggered by a particular world view, relationships and attitudes.

To summarise, Halliday’s approach to the system of meanings expressed by grammar and vocabulary basically builds on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure. However, the Hallidayan approach develops Saussure’s premise when one starts to learn that every structural choice made, for example in syntax or vocabulary, is related to a meta-functional system (experiential and interpersonal). Throughout this study, choices in the structures (e.g. syntax and thematic organization) will be observed in terms of the social meanings put forth by Halliday. The ideational and interpersonal meanings will be a key principle in this present study.

In conclusion, Halliday's semiotic perspectives offer a functional and logical approach to language. Forms and texts are interpreted within our social experience and judgments as users of a sign. Halliday's theory of social semiotic remains a great contribution to translation and discourse studies as will be explored gradually in this study. However, within a Hallidayan approach, the ideological code of the sign remains unclear, although Halliday refers us to the concept of "antilanguages" which is related to alternative realities or different world views. In order to reach these invisible dimensions of a politically sensitive context, we need to introduce first the concept of markedness that links the social structures and functions of the sign with its ideological meaning.

2.3.2 Markedness (Jakobson)

Jakobson also notes the importance of Saussure's structuralist approach but only when the paradigmatic opposition can be discussed within social contexts and communication. Like Halliday, he stresses the functionality of language in interpersonal communication. To Jakobson (see Chandler, 2002) communication gives the sign its function. For example, a sign might be "referential" in function if the user intends to impart information; "expressive" to express attitudes or "phatic" to establish or maintain social relationships or communication (refer to section 6.2.5 for empirical analysis).

Furthermore, Jakobson refers to the concept of "**markedness**" in semiotics. This concept is of special interest in this study for it can help reveal the backgrounded meanings and unconscious categorizations in a politically motivated text. This will have a considerable bearing upon the way a biased discourse can be analysed (see the marked text strategies that classify groups in Chapter 6).

Basically, markedness deals with paradigmatic opposition such as:

Good vs. bad, self vs. other, or terrorist vs. martyr.

Here, the marked form is the one deviating from the norm. This classification of norm vs. marked comes from the categorization of concepts that one unconsciously or subjectively tends to form. For example:

In a media text one might encounter the form '*building a fence*'. This form might look to a certain audience "unmarked", "primary", "less negative or more favourable" form than

what can be seen in the Arabic media as ‘*under the pretext of what they call a security fence*’.

According to a westerner, the latter form might be interpreted as “marked”, “secondary” or “less favourable”, i.e. biased.

In light of this paradigmatic opposition, markedness will offer useful insights in studying the subjective representations and interpretations of a sensitive text. The discourse analysis scheme in Chapter 6 will also unravel markedness in text strategy where the unmarked becomes marked and made more visible. This is related to the ideological code that characterizes signs in politically motivated texts. By codes, it is meant there is no neutral reality between a signifier and a signified. The semiotic analysis of politically sensitive texts should be able to unveil those dominant codes in order to see how meanings can be suppressed and constrained by many factors to make them appear unmarked.

What is interesting in this study is that the targeted audience or reader does not, in general, see the above shifts as marked. The Arab audience is likely to see the adapted forms in the TT as ‘unmarked’, because shifts respond to the audience’s own political and social conventions. Consider the following shifts taken from Reuters texts (Appendix A):

Reuters B:

Washington’s desire to keep a lid on ME violence

TT:

رغبة واشنطن في تهدئة الوضع في الشرق الأوسط

BT:

Washington’s desire to calm the situation in the ME

Reuters C:

The Palestinian uprising

TT:

الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT:

The Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation

Reuters D:

Violence

TT:

الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT:

The Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation

To illustrate, the Arab audience does not favour the signifier *violence* nor its signified, for these signs tend to give negative marked interpretations about the Palestinian uprising to this audience. *The Palestinian uprising against occupation* is now the norm in a new categorization system. That is, the new forms in the TT will appear more favourable and unmarked to the common Arab audience. If the above English signs are relayed into the target texts with their hegemonic meanings intact, they will only appear marked and loaded with negative or biased ideological codes (see section 6.2.1 for detailed analysis). Therefore, it may be argued here that politically sensitive signs have marked representations and interpretations (i.e. they are not neutral).

Many linguistic forms or signs in the ST which are seen as marked by the translator himself/herself are observed to be shifted in the corpus in order to meet the expectations and classification system of the Arab audience. See how markedness can characterize politically sensitive signs in the following example taken from Appendix A:

Reuters A:

Echoing other Palestinian officials, Arafat accused the Israeli forces of committing “massacres and slaughters” against Palestinians during their 15-day-old West Bank campaign - an allegation the army has denied.

TT:

ولكن ادانة الرئيس الفلسطيني شملت الهجوم الاسرائيلي أيضا فقال في البيان " ندين بقوة وبشدة المذبحة والمجازر التي ارتكبتها وترتكبها قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي ضد المدنيين واللاجئين الفلسطينيين..."

BT:

But the Palestinian President’s condemnation included the Israeli offensive as well. He said in the statement “We strongly and firmly condemn the carnage and massacres that have been and are being committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian civilians and refugees...”

In the discourse analysis scheme of a politically sensitive text, the marked style will be tested and made visible via the critical analysis of the textual features of the media text: for example, in the foregrounded thematic structuring of the above excerpt (see Chapter 6).

To conclude this section, binary oppositions in the corpus should not be seen as natural or commonsensical, but motivated. In the following section we will gain a better understanding of these marked structures and we will also be able to de-naturalize their intrinsic meanings; that is to say, to deconstruct the code that makes meaning look natural. This leads to the poststructuralist perspectives of the sign.

2.4 Poststructuralism

This approach builds on structuralist notions only to problematize them. In other words, the constructed realities, whether by convention, social habit, functional meanings or habits of categorization should now be questioned and deconstructed. This approach should inform our critical analysis of a politically sensitive discourse because, as Chandler (2002) puts it, “deconstructing and contesting the realities of signs can reveal whose realities are privileged and whose are suppressed” (Chandler, 2002: 15).

Poststructuralists relate the internal linguistic structures or habitual interpretations of the sign to its mythical and ideological forces. These forces are capable of masking the political signs encountered in the daily news, thus naturalizing them. In approaching poststructuralist semiotics, we begin with the seminal notions by the later Barthes, then discuss the contributions of Derrida, ending the chapter with a poststructuralist-related approach put forward by the social semioticians Kress and Hodge, in which power and ideology are adequately addressed.

2.4.1 Myth and Connotation (Barthes)

Building on Saussure’s call for a science of signs, Barthes (1972) takes the relationship between the signifier and the signified beyond its conventional denotation or structure, to give it a social and ideological meaning. Barthes’ approach argues that the sign is capable of retrieving and connoting with larger sign systems where the analyst has to be aware of the latent and connotative meanings of the sign. In this context, he introduces the concept

of “**myth**” being a “global sign” loaded with values related to history, geography, morality and ideology.

Myth is the actualization of particular meaning systems into our daily and lived experience; in the present study, political news reporting plays a vital role in naturalizing particular meaning systems seen as “heritage”. Theoretically, myth is the product of orders of signification:

- 1- The first order of signification (denotation) combines a signifier and a signified; that is to say, what the form is about.
- 2- The second order of signification (connotation) combines the above order, which now becomes a signifier, with an additional signified.
- 3- The third order (sign) combines the signifier and the signified and the myth is seen in this chain of connotations; in other words, in the totality of signs. Contrary to Saussure’s limited structure of the sign, a signified has the capacity to become a signifier on another level, giving the sign a chain of meanings.

The “signification” of myth can be exemplified in the following excerpt taken from AFP A (refer to Appendix A):

AFP A:

Israel will start building on Sunday a massive security fence...

Here, the signifier has a literal interpretation meaning that Israel is building a fence (denotational). Through the second order, the association that is bound to be brought into play by a non-Arab is Israel’s security against Palestinian suicide attacks. A westerner is likely to understand the totality of this security sign if s/he connotes the following chain of causes:

Palestinian terrorism, Israel’s right for self-defence and probably the connotation of time: after September the 11th, thus actualizing the myth of ‘*the security fence*’.

In other words, the signified of one form leads to a new signifier combining with an additional signified in a chain of learned connotations. In this case, the form and concept of *the security fence* “closely corresponds to a function” (Barthes, 1972:119). According to Barthes’ analysis of the mythical system, we have in this AFP text a particular “mythical concept”, and the “appropriation” of the fence concept through this “literalness

of meaning”, i.e. calling it *security fence*, makes it look “legal” and “innocent”. The “instrumental signifiers” in the same text, such as *security fence*, *defensive barrier* or *reducing the threat to Israel*, actualize the mythical concept of Israel’s security and domination. As a result, the meaning system, like *security*, becomes a mythology when it becomes the “natural” thing to mean every time the wall is mentioned in the news.

On the other hand, it will be seen that in Al-Manar translation this mythical concept is critically and constantly “suppressed” and shifted, which proves that political signs, as Barthes calls them, are “essentially motivated”. Clearly this contrasts with Saussure’s arbitrary linguistics. To explain, *the fence* cannot conventionally signify security in the Arab media. Here, the conventionality of *security* is challenged by the translator. Consider how naturalized meanings in a western text can be questioned by Al-Manar translators:

The following translation by Al-Manar of the above excerpt taken from AFP A (Appendix A) will illustrate this semiotic meaning:

تباشر غدا سلطات الاحتلال معاودة قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية بحجة اقامة ما تسميه جدارا أمنيا

BT: *The occupying authorities will start tomorrow grabbing more Palestinian lands under the pretext of building what they call a security fence.*

In this context, the new “global signs” are seen in the framing of the new signifiers such as *القضم* (*grabbing*). This form in Arabic denotes seizure and has the connotation of grabbing or illegally annexing more Palestinian lands by force. Grabbing, becoming a new signifier, now connotes a new signified (*expansionism* and *Zionism*). This series of connotations in Al-Manar texts yields the sign of hostility to or threat coming from Israel. Furthermore, the modal expression, *what they call*, is another signifier and has the connotation of discrediting what the *occupying authorities* say. The other signifier in the same clause, *occupying authorities*, connoting other signifiers in the same text such as *occupation since 1948* or *Zionism*, will lead to new values, causes and effects. This epitomizes Hartley’s view that “news is a myth-maker” (1993: 30). Thus, signifiers in ST/TT become part of everyday news discourse and construct particular beliefs systems in the cognitive environment of the text receiver.

It is obvious that the new linguistic system seen in the TT now interacts with a different myth, i.e. “a system of communication... a mode of signification” (Barthes, 1972: 109) that is naturalized by history, ideology, geography, morality etc. The signifiers that the translator has adapted in the new system have now become functional, and the new audience will even see them as facts, naturalized by a common Arab myth that explicitly views these actions as *acts of occupation*.

Correspondingly, it can be argued that the West has recently created a new myth, namely *September 11th*. Today, a western reader is bound to connote this concept with signs like the following signifiers found in the same AFP text above: *launching pad for suicide attacks, to thwart Palestinian attacks, to prevent the infiltration of Palestinian terrorists, this defensive barrier*. The ST reader will see in these signs a “causal process” or “natural relationships” to make the security fence myth functional. It is, as Barthes puts it, a “semiological system” vs. “factual system”. Forms like *porous borders, Palestinian terrorists, infiltration* become an “alibi” of the new American myth of *war on terror* or even the myth of *the security fence*.

It may be argued here that the translator actually deciphers the ST ideological connotations. Barthes also refers us to “the activity of the reader” who questions these causal processes created in the media. As we observe here, the translator is aware of a foreign or media-made myth that s/he intentionally “shatters” to make it afunctional. In other words, the translator of a politically sensitive text cannot be seen as an “innocent consumer” of the myths found in the ST. This brings more attention to the meaning-made aspects of politically motivated texts and to the notion of Skopos (section 5.3.2) where the translator looks at the ST as an offer of information.

According to Barthes’ semiotic explanation, one observes that in Al-Manar, foreign ideologically made signifiers that are not relayed (e.g. security fence) cannot in Barthes’ terms “rob” the Arabic language. Most important, it cannot rob the Arabic translation. Rather, the translator submits to his/her own myth, where the new TT signifiers become the “accomplice” of the Israeli occupation concept. Consequently, one starts to see new causalities in the TT that will ultimately reflect on causality in language structure (see 4.5). This myth, we see in politically motivated texts, comes to seek a particular reader; as Barthes notes: “it is I whom it has come to seek. It is turned towards me, I am subjected to its intentional force” (1972: 124).

This semiological system also emphasizes the historical force of the sign that makes a particular code more functional and “natural”. The same point is made by Tudor’s study of ideology and political myths (1972). Tudor postulates that a political myth belongs to a particular group or race against an enemy it identifies. It establishes many claims, such as the extension of territory or the abolition of unwanted institutions. The political myth is “wishful thinking” or a device that influences reality and can select particular events for inclusion in a myth. This is the reason why in section 6.3.1, for instance, we observe a transformation in the circumstantial elements of the clause. For example, in Reuters many expansions or circumstances that incriminate Palestinian bombers are omitted in the TT, since these selected events or circumstances loom large in the memory of the audience and could also connote suicide acts committed on September the 11th.

Barthes’ contribution helps one realize how meanings in the TT can “empty” or “abolish” the ST myth and vice-versa. We will see in Chapter 3 how this subjective dimension of context is also sustained by domination and ideological state apparatuses. Barthes’ important insight will now pave the way into a consideration of deconstruction that explains how particular mythical structures or orders of signification can be problematized in the critical analysis of a politically sensitive text.

2.4.2 Deconstruction (Derrida)

In contrast to the stable meanings of the sign postulated earlier in this chapter, the ideas of the poststructuralist philosopher Derrida send shockwaves through all notions of decidable structures. Without adopting a fixed position, Derrida questions all decidable categories about texts, identities, or meanings by referring western semiotics to “**deconstruction**”. Deconstruction signifies a philosophy of destabilizing or disordering an established order of meaning or assumptions. An established order to Derrida is what is ruled by consensus. Such meanings have pre-determined signifieds, a fixed truth or decidable binary oppositions that control our minds and make our decisions possible. For Derrida, the historical context is also important in negotiating signification in texts. To interpret meaning, one must question the issue of how texts could be “contaminated”. This semiotic perspective begs closer attention to the ideological meaning of a politically sensitive news report (see Chapter 3 on ideological matters).

According to this approach, one needs to pay attention to the “historical themes” instituted by a society and question the decidable functions, whether in the foreign text or the target text. Decoding a foreign text entails the questioning of its embedded ideology, history, politics, morality as well as religious assumptions. Through Derrida’s philosophy, this study will look at the boundaries between concepts and words in both source texts and target texts till boundaries become “blurred”. This means we have to look beyond the stable order of meaning in order to reach those invisible factors and conditions that control them. It will also enable the critical analyst to see bias, sympathies or distance in politically sensitive texts.

Consider how the assumptions in Reuters source texts are being problematized in Reuters Arabic texts (refer to Appendix A) only to reflect the pre-determined orders of the target situation:

Reuters D:

17 months of violence

TT:

انتفاضة فلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT:

Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation.

Another example taken from English and Arabic media sources will shed more light on the questioning of fixed meanings:

وكانت العملية الاستشهادية في القدس والتي أودت بحياة تسعة من الاسرائيليين قد شهدت على أن الاجراءات الأمنية الاسرائيلية لاتحول دون قدرة الفلسطينيين على نقل المعركة الى أرض العدو وتنفيذ تهديداتهم بالرد على الحرب التي شنتها القوات الاسرائيلية على المخيمات.

Assafir newspaper, 4 March 2002 (Appendix B).

BT:

The martyrdom operation in Jerusalem that killed 9 Israelis has proved that the Israeli security measures cannot deter the will of the Palestinians to move the battle into the enemy’s land; and further cannot deter them from fulfilling their warnings to retaliate against Israel’s war on Palestinian camps.

Here, we observe that the Arabic texts disturb the concepts of *violence* and *suicide*. These signifiers that have determined/ hegemonic meanings in western media are questioned in the Arab media. In this case, *violence* and *suicide* are no longer “absolute” and their meanings, according to Derrida, have “no prior presence”. The Arab media cannot simply inherit a western myth that incriminates Palestinian bombers in the same manner. Before relating them to the death of Israelis, Palestinian bombers are seen essentially as sacrificing themselves. In the Arabic representation they are not seen as objects, but as young martyrs or blowing themselves up for desperate reasons to resist occupation.

According to this semiotic approach, the identities of the Palestinians that were assured in the ST are no longer the same, and thus the meaning of suicide is not “closed”. It seems that the translator tries to find relations with other signs that surround *suicide* in the Arabic culture; in Derrida’s terms: the value of the sign is “deferred”. In other words, a signifying element that is present bears the “trace” of absent signs other than itself. To an Arab subject, the sign *suicide bomber* is deferred differently in that it relates to an Arab’s previous experience and history bearing the concepts that suicide is forbidden in Islam, Arab lands are still occupied, and the Intifada or martyrdom is the only way (see section 3.6 for factual data). The signifying element relays the Israeli and Palestinian identities from a different structural decidability loaded with a specific history. Signification in the Arab media finds relations with other signs rooted in Islam or Arab ideology.

Here, the differences in the Arabic text “interweave” via a different trace that a westerner cannot recognize. A westerner is likely to track the absent concepts of killing innocent people and Israel’s right for defence. Conversely, the concepts of resistance are likely to be absent from a western structure.

Discourse shifting is now revealing that a politically motivated sign bears the traces of particular established structures and ideologies in the target situation, and that the translator’s decision is determined by these constraints that either allow the foreign to be relayed or resist it. Derrida refers here to the “space in which such a decision comes to pass in terms of aporias - non passages or impossible passages. If a decision were to take an established route, or passage, it would be following a pre-determined programme... it would therefore not be a decision” (cited in Davis, 2001: 93).

In other words, the translator's decision refuses to re-inscribe alien words which have political decidability by alien forces. This is somewhat paradoxical, for deconstruction encourages responsibility towards the other in translation by not passing through one's own predetermined values. However, in this study, it is found that the translator deconstructs the ST to guard against the political implications of a foreign authority that has already established its goals or routes. In any case, a semiotic enquiry that deconstructs the political sign must examine the passages of both the ST and the TT along with their manufactured truths in order to reveal their common text strategies (see Chapter 6). Deconstruction will inform our analysis by making explicit the "implicit conventions" whereby decidable politics and power structures become more visible.

In conclusion, we observe that deconstructing the established orders of the ST via the act of translation indicates that there is a politically sensitive context of the Self and the Other, a particular power structure and an institutional bias that need to be made more visible and critically analysed in this study. But, before moving to this stage of analysis, we yet need to focus on another influential approach that questions the invisible meanings of the political sign.

2.4.3 The Socio-Politics of the Sign (Hodge and Kress)

Hodge and Kress (1988) also break from structuralist semiotics by negotiating meaning in terms of its social and historical force, power and ideology. The central premise of "**social semiotics**" suggests that signifiers should be linked to users, power, control, conflicts or agreements that can control the political signs and give them an institutional code. In other words, the conjunction of the signifier and the signified is indicative of power and control.

In this framework, Hodge and Kress refer us to "ideological complexes" and "logonomic systems". They explain: "An ideological complex exists to sustain relationships of both power and solidarity" (1988: 3). According to this concept, the dominant groups construct the world in a manner that serves their interests over the dominated. This domination can succeed only when the dominated show their solidarity with these structured realities. However, the ideological complex cannot function without another mechanism that controls both "production and reception of meanings". This semiotic mechanism is labelled by Hodge and Kress a "logonomic system":

“from the Greek logos, which means a thought or system of thought, and also the words or discourse through which the thought is presented, and nomos, a control or ordering mechanism. A logonomic system is a set of rules prescribing the conditions for production and reception of meanings; which specify who can claim to initiate (produce, communicate) or know (receive, understand) meanings about what topics under what circumstances and with what modalities (how, when, why)” (ibid: 4).

This semiotic approach invites us to explore the logonomic rules that lead to discourse shifts or sensitive representations in a media text. That is, the rules that control relationships of power and solidarity and the way participants, their actions and circumstances are classified in the text. To illustrate, consider the marked codes in the following texts taken from Appendix A:

Reuters A:

Arafat has been trapped in his headquarters in Ramallah surrounded by Israeli tanks since March 29, when the Israeli army launched a sweeping offensive in the West Bank after a suicide bombing killed 28 people in an Israeli hotel.

TT:

وتحاصر الدبابات الاسرائيلية الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات في مقره برام الله منذ 29 مارس

BT:

The Israeli tanks have been surrounding the Palestinian President Yasser Arafat in his headquarters in Ramallah since March 29.

The Arabic translation shows that the Arabs are constrained by a different logonomic system. That is to say, an Arab consumer of this message will not accept the reasons or conditions stated in the ST that justify Arafat's entrapment. The “reception regime” in the TT will lead to a protest if the solidarity with Israelis or circumstances of reality exhibited in the ST is relayed into the TT. Also, the classification in the English texts of Palestinian bombers as active agents in killing actions on a regular basis seems to be resisted in the target situation. By observing the weakening of the structures and the rules of the ST dominant forms via shifts, we become more aware of the belief systems that control the reality of a motivated political text. To borrow Hodge and Kress's term “the production regimes” of the West cannot constrain the Arab audience in the same way as they do to western audiences. Hodge and Kress assert that:

“Social semiotics cannot assume that texts produce exactly the meanings and effects that their authors hope for: it is precisely the struggles and their uncertain outcomes that must be studied at the level of social action, and their effects in the production of meaning” (1988: 12).

We may consider here how these production regimes differ in the West by examining the following excerpt taken from New York Times on the same event:

Arafat responded with the statement denouncing terrorism - the kind sought by President Bush so Powell could go ahead with his postponed meeting with Arafat in Ramallah, where Israeli troops have confined the Arafat to his office.

The New York Times, 13 April 2002 (Appendix B).

The US discourse of power over Palestinians has its own classification system and reception regimes, thus constraining the western interpretation of the political sign. This example reflects different bonds of solidarity in American media, i.e. it sustains the “social fabric” between ruling editors and the ruled audience who both agree that Palestinian terrorism should be clearly condemned. Naturally, we cannot expect reciprocity of solidarity in such situations to be endorsed by the Arab media. If, for instance, the representation of *the Arafat* is applied in the Arab media, a protest will follow, since the general logonomic system of an Arab recipient will not allow this naming practice to be consumed without offence. We may consider how this event was published in the Arab media:

ويأتي بيان عرفات استجابة للضغط الأميركي حيث اشترطت واشنطن أن يدين عرفات ما تسميه بالعمليات الإرهابية لعقد لقاء بين وزير الخارجية الأميركي والرئيس الفلسطيني.

Al-Jazeera, 13 April 2002 (Appendix B).

BT:

Arafat's statement comes as a response to US pressure. Washington stipulated that Arafat denounces what it calls terrorist operations in order to organize a meeting between the Secretary of State and the Palestinian President.

Similarly, Al-Manar translation has its specific reception regimes. The translator works under the constraints of his/her own logonomic system to ensure the functioning of Al-Manar's ideological complex. Al-Manar's “signifiers of power” can be seen in many ways, e.g. the new naming practices, or classification of Israeli/ American agents where a

new paradigmatic system prevails in all Al-Manar representations (refer to Appendices A and B), such as:

أقدم جنود الاحتلال على اعدام عطاري، قصاص...
القوات الامريكية الغازية قتلت ثمانية مدنيين...

BT: *The occupying soldiers authorized to hang Attari, Qassas...*
or, *the invading American forces killed 8 civilians...*

Furthermore, Hodge and Kress emphasize the importance of modality in social semiotics. They refer us to the position of participants in relation to their semiotic system. We will see in section 6.3.2 how modality reflects the “security” of our social and political systems as well as the “reliability of a message”. Observe for instance the following “modality markers” observed in the Arabic media: the above expression in Aljazeera ‘*what it calls*’ or the many modality markers we will observe later in Al-Manar like ‘*according to what the enemy said... what they call a security fence*’, etc...

Obviously, in a politically sensitive text, the translator seems to be contesting the knowledge system of the ST. The translator who is controlling modality schemes is also seen to be controlling reality in his/her own society, and the Arab audience will accept this new semiotic activity.

At this stage, it can be said that in the Arabic texts meanings are no longer constrained by the logonomic rules of the foreign texts. From a semiotic perspective, the sensitivity in translation seems to build on struggles between societies rather than assuming that a sign is universal in its meaning. Power, control and new consumption regimes seem to characterize a sensitive text and its semiotic structures (i.e. syntagmatic and paradigmatic). The new semiotic structures obviously aim to meet with the target expectations and enforce particular solidarity systems.

Furthermore, shifts seem to police the logonomic systems or the ideological alignments that can control code interpretation as well as the production regimes of the ruling groups in the state. However, these important ideological issues that sustain the sensitive meanings of signs still need to be studied from an independent ideological perspective. This will be the scope of the next chapter.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has proposed some salient semiotic models which can explain the non-neutral meanings the analyst may encounter in politically sensitive translations or in politically motivated texts. It was argued that signs in a politically sensitive news report cannot be interpreted according to fixed rules, conventions, collective habits or arbitrary framings; otherwise the translator would not resort to the serious shifts we have seen so far.

The sign system of a politically sensitive text is seen to be established at particular syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes; has particular interpretants in the cognitive environment; specific ideational and interpersonal meanings; marked classification systems and incorporates dominant myths and ideological codes that need to be deconstructed in our critical discourse analysis of the politically motivated signs. These semiotic meanings are subjective meanings and draw attention to the descriptive use in politically sensitive discourses as we shall explore later via the concept of relevance, and also to the particular textual features that characterize a politically sensitive sign. Most importantly, they draw attention to the dominant ideologies that sustain their biased meanings.

In order to describe how motivated signs are manifest in discourse and text strategy (i.e. at the linguistic level), we still need to take a closer look at ideology being the external power capable of controlling or at least sustaining the sign system in a politically sensitive text.

CHAPTER 3

INVESTIGATING THE IDEOLOGY OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TEXTS

3.1 Introductory Remarks

The previous chapter showed how semiotic approaches can draw attention to the invisible factors that control the sensitive meaning of the political sign, its subjective representation or interpretation. The notion of ideology was seen as key factor in either controlling or sustaining such meanings and representations. Therefore, this chapter will attempt to address this broad and vague notion encountered during every phase of analysis in this study.

The main purpose of this chapter is twofold:

- to design a theoretical survey of the important ideological notions underlying the final production of politically sensitive texts in the media;
- to propose an empirical method through which one can examine the dominant ideological positions that can either legitimate or delegitimize ideological shifts in translation. This method should be able to put an important constraint on shifts in media translation.

Despite the variety of approaches to ideology, one is routinely referred to the Marxist and neo-Marxist orientation and its impact on many structuralist thinkers. For this reason, sections 3.2 and 3.3.1 will display two enduring concepts in the study of the Marxist ideology (dominant and hegemonic) which have influenced many translation and discourse analysis scholars. Section 3.3.2 expands on the concept of hegemony and relates it to the manufacture of consent in the media discourse. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 will add the notions of struggle and resistance, and will investigate preferred readings in an ideologically motivated discourse in the media. Section 3.6 will propose an empirical method or a survey by which one can ideologically legitimate or give ideological reasons for the special sensitive representations encountered in the Arabic media texts. Finally, section 3.7 will draw important conclusions on the main ideological notions that should be examined in the study of ideologically motivated discourses. These notions will have a great impact on our discourse analysis scheme (Chapters 4 and 6) and our translation study of politically sensitive texts (Chapter 5).

3.2 Ideological State Apparatuses (The Althusserian Conception of Ideology)

Althusser (1971) draws upon the ideas of Marx and Engels who defined ideology as dominant ideas and representations appropriate to specific ruling class interests. The Marxist classics conceived domination within the “**State Apparatus**” (S.A.). The S.A. represented by the head of state, the administration, army, and prisons enabled the bourgeois class (19th century) or ruling classes to make their prevailing ideas accepted as “established orders” by the ruled. Here, the state is seen as a coercive structure or an instrument of class domination that serves to promote the interests of the ruling class. In principle, Marxist approaches draw attention to what they call “false consciousness” where one fails to see things as they really are. This false consciousness comes about because a society’s superstructure that is determined by the economic or material base can conceal the real basis of the society. Because the ruling class controls the means of production in society, it can lead the ruled to believe that whatever it morally decides is for their benefit. This makes the ideologies of the ruling class accepted by the ruled as the undisputed system being the “natural” way of things.

However, Althusser’s important contribution to this theory includes other apparatuses that do not work merely by “repression” or “violence”. These other institutions (religious, educational, family, communication such as the press or television) which he named “**Ideological State Apparatuses**” (ISAs) are integral parts in the wider social formation and eventually ensure the “reproduction” of the ruling ideology, i.e. they do not function predominantly by repression like the State.

Althusser’s definition of ideology can also be seen in what he calls the “imaginary relations” of individuals to the real world. To explain, Althusser notes that individuals are born as abstract “**subjects**” but are transformed by their respective ruling ISAs to be positioned, for example, either as pro-American subjects or anti-Arab subjects, to reproduce a dominant ideology. This process, which Althusser calls “**interpellation**” or “hailing” of human subjects, is “not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live” (Althusser, 1971: 155).

An apparatus like the media by which individuals are daily subjected to “massive inculcation” and “cramming” of concepts (e.g. moralism, terrorism, martyrdom or suicide

bombing), can forge one's beliefs about the way specific subjects should be interpellated, thus, imposing imaginary relations between the ruling ideology and the ruled individuals. To illustrate, as subjects, the Arab audience is subjected to an Arab/Muslim authority, so their understanding of a human subject sacrificing himself/herself to liberate his/her occupied land is a key sensitive ideological issue. This emphasizes the importance of the notion of interpellation in political discourse analysis. It may be observed that many ISAs in the Arab world naturalize the discourses of resistance that contribute to the wider social formation of the Arab audience. The audience here performs what Althusser calls "rituals" of a special interpellation system that ideologically hails Palestinian bombers as 'martyrs', with a heroic identity rather than 'murderers' with a terrorist identity, as is the case in the West. According to Althusser, the Arab subjects submit to a different ruling ideology that naturalizes the concept of 'martyrdom'. However, this "ideological recognition" between the ruling and the ruled is met by "misrecognition" by a westerner or an outsider. For, there is no guarantee that the subjects (i.e. audience) in the West will recognize a similar interpellation process, i.e. martyrdom. Therefore, it is argued here that the ideological recognition is neither universal nor ruled by the same ISAs. For this reason, it is noted that the text producers in the media reproduce specific ideological relations (i.e. perceived relations between individuals and reality) which submit to different ideological or imaginary concepts.

One may consider, for instance, how the Americans cannot recognize the interpellation process of martyrdom, if one refers to the following concept taken from a speech by President George Bush:

"The American administration has made clear that Arab States must stop funding and inciting terror to make clear that a murderer is not a martyr".

Refer to Reuters E (Appendix A) and Bush's speech (Appendix B).

As a result, it can be expected that the political media institutions in the West will contribute to or naturalize the same process of subject positioning. Naturally, the Arab audience who responds differently to western concepts will reject a literal translation that interpellates a Palestinian subject who carries out attacks against Israelis as "terrorist", especially when the purpose of translation does not require direct access to the original text.

Another important argument is seen in the positioning of the translator by his/her own ISAs, i.e. the translator is also subject to a different authority and might respond to a particular interpellation system in the target situation. One might reflect on how this positioning makes him/her refuse to reproduce the relations of production s/he encounters in Reuters texts, via the following shifts:

Reuters D (Appendix A):

Dispatching Powell to the region was a risky move by Bush, who has come under fire at home and abroad for doing too little to stop the Israeli-Palestinian violence that has intensified over 18 months.

TT:

وكان قرار بوش ايفاد باول الى المنطقة فيه مغامرة بعد أن تعرض الرئيس الامريكي لانتقادات في الداخل والخارج لعدم بذله مجهودا يذكر لوقف الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي الذي تصاعد منذ تفجر الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي قبل 18 شهرا.

BT:

Bush's decision to dispatch Powell to the region was a risky move after he had been criticised at home and abroad for doing too little to stop the Israeli-Palestinian struggle that has intensified since the outburst of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation over 18 months.

Here the translator, being an Arab subject, is seen to be hailed by different ruling politics to reproduce different imaginary concepts that perceive Israel as *repressive state*. As the Arab audience submits to the same dominant belief, this invisible adaptation becomes more relevant and advantageous in this context.

To conclude, in the study of translation of politically sensitive texts, it is necessary to examine the interpellation systems and the ideological recognition found in the foreign text. In our case, we note that these ideological notions are not relayed because the translator does not submit to the same foreign rules of the ST, but to a different authority that s/he accepts in the target situation (see also Skopos, section 5.3.2). Dominant ideologies will be seen at work in the discourse analysis scheme of Chapter 6. However, our ideological framework has yet to incorporate other important ideological notions that do not merely work by coercion in the politically sensitive text but rather by consent. This will be the scope of the following section.

3.3 Hegemony and Consent

3.3.1 The Gramscian Conception of Ideology

After World War One, the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci introduced some influential concepts regarding the structures of power in western capitalist societies. His conceptions of “**hegemony**” and “**common sense**” have inspired many media and discourse scholars interested in ideological studies.

According to this concept, the relationship between language and ideology is not merely seen in terms of coercion by the state apparatuses or social order (economic and political) but in terms of hegemony that dominates the civil society. At this stage we turn to the primacy of civil society (consensus) over political society (force).

Hegemony, which comes from daily communication with others, implies the compliance of citizens in their own oppression. In other words, the elites equally rule by “**consent**” and individuals “educate” themselves in this hegemonic philosophy where they accept the dominant ideological influence which is supposed to embody their overall goals and interests. Gramsci adopted the key notion that language, being a channel of communication, embodies one’s worldview, culture, philosophy and history. Therefore, media language sustains particular relations of power, which become persuasively legitimized and almost invisible in one’s discourse production. Hegemony in media language will be viewed as articulating, justifying and maintaining the interests of the “fundamental”/ ruling class, as well as winning the active consensus of those over whom it rules. Eventually, this will establish a collective will or a unified political subject over particular signifiers in common use. For example, if the West maintains in international media or in AFP texts that Hezbollah is “Lebanon’s Shiite Muslim fundamentalists”, western nations will, in general, legitimize this naming practice if through the media control it seems to be protecting their goals.

Gramsci links hegemony to common sense that is equally important in the study of the structures of power in a given society. Common sense can be explained as follows:

“Many of the conceptions are imposed and absorbed passively from outside, or from the past, and are accepted and lived uncritically... Many elements in popular common sense contribute to people’s subordination by making situations of inequality and oppression appear to them as natural and unchangeable” (Forgacs, 1988: 421).

The conflicting conceptions of the world and the unequal relations of power that are encountered in the target situation are the result of different hegemonic structures in the Arab world. The media institutions, being part of this superstructure, tend to articulate special economic, political and historic conditions which have been already secured by the Arab and Muslim audience. In other words, when a political subject is represented it establishes what has been naturalized. That is to say, it becomes a unified political subject that can easily win the consent of the Arab audience. For example, it will not be a common sense for the Arab audience to articulate the suggestion by Bush quoted above “*a murderer is not a martyr*”. From this ideological point of view it is possible to explain why shifting occurs in a context of differing hegemonies.

Another concern is to examine the “position” of the translator who responds to the engineering of his/her elite’s hegemonic control. The translator’s challenge will be seen in the alternative modes s/he tends to articulate in the TT. We may consider how in the following example the hegemonies of the ST are not relayed because there is a different commonsensical belief in the target situation:

AFP D (Appendix A):

Lebanon’s border with Israel... Israeli-Palestinian crisis... US strategy for peace...

TT (Al-Manar):

الحدود بين لبنان وفلسطين المحتلة... النزاع الاسرائيلي الفلسطيني... عملية التسوية

BT:

The border between Lebanon and occupied Palestine... Israeli-Palestinian conflict... US settlement process.

The translator’s reaction is part of the collective will which Al-Manar’s audience maintains equally to serve the interests of their ruling class. Here, both the translator and the audience agree that the land is *occupied Palestine* and that the political situation in the

Middle East is not an issue of crisis, but conflict and struggle over land that the US tries to settle unfairly. In other words, the target audience complies in the same manner with the same dominant ideology articulated through the translator. Hence, with this consent, the translator shifts into a new collective social structure where translation becomes an ideological tool that can denaturalize an alien hegemonic discourse to maintain a collective meaning in the Middle East. Within Gramsci's theory, it can be said that the translator refuses to restructure the hegemony and common sense of a foreign ideology that implies a new world order. In each case, the politically sensitive text, whether in Al-Manar or AFP, has already secured the consent of its own audience. As Hall (1982) clearly puts it: "having secured the consent of the nation carries the stamp of legitimacy" (Hall, 1982: 87).

In conclusion, Gramsci's theoretical framework enables a critical understanding of the social and political structures of both the source and target texts that legitimize their own discourses implicitly through the consent of the target recipients.

Having sketched an outline of the Marxist view of domination and hegemony, one now needs to consider contemporary thinking about hegemony in media discourse. The following sub-section will show how political, intellectual and moral leadership is further articulated in the media discourse.

3.3.2 Manufacturing Consent - The Political Economy of the Mass Media

(Herman and Chomsky)

Herman and Chomsky (1994) account for the importance of propaganda in media discourse. Their approach has explicit recourse to the Marxist philosophy of hegemony. They explain how media bias reflects an underlying elite consensus that shapes all facets of the news. In this respect, they refer to the "**manufacture of consent**".

Herman and Chomsky argue that the owners of the mass media, especially in the USA, are powerful ideological institutions serving the goals of the elite in their society. These institutions rely on forces such as the market, business, wealth, power and censorship to

filter the news. These forces are also able to portray the world in a way that reflects the interests of both rulers and buyers. In other words, money and power are behind the manufacture of the news and what is perceived as newsworthy, objective and credible is the result of a complete fusion of political, economic and moral objectives. This is brought about by a powerful group and its allies and the public eventually accepts it by consensus.

Herman and Chomsky further note that the news is filtered through leading media firms, businesses, education and market-profit-oriented forces. Furthermore, the information is provided by government or official sources who constrain the whole system. Therefore, seeing alternative ways of communicating news becomes difficult to imagine from within an established consensus. In the end, this system will create common interests and will start controlling dissident opinion. The alternative ways will require costly research and might even be threatening because, as Herman and Chomsky explain:

“Messages from and about dissidents... domestic or foreign are at an initial disadvantage in sourcing costs, credibility, and they often do not comport with the ideology or interests of the powerful parties that influence the filtering process” (Herman and Chomsky, 1994: 31).

Eventually, the media’s propaganda system is implemented without “overt coercion” to serve the power of the government which fixes facts in conformity with the priorities of the elite. As Herman and Chomsky clearly put it, the representation system or signs seen in the media do not merely inform or entertain but further “inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda” (ibid, 1).

To illustrate, one can perceive nowadays in news representations a systematic propaganda against terrorism, which is seen as the ultimate evil. In an analogy with Herman and Chomsky’s “filter of anticommunism”, the mass media mobilize the populace against this kind of enemy. Here, Reuters/AFP source texts seem to collaborate in mobilizing the audience against this new “enemy”, terrorism. In other words, international news agencies become subjected to the elite in western governments to win consent from the populace for this propagandistic “war on terrorism”. Terrorism is seen as foreign or “ideological” because it submits to outside leaders and organizations that are not part of the belief that

“we the people rule” (Herman and Chomsky, 1994: 305). For instance, one finds in the present corpus of AFP (refer to Appendix A) a constant portrayal of ideological organizations such as *‘Radical Islamic Movement Hamas’*, *‘Lebanon-based fundamentalist Shiite movement Hezbollah’* and *‘Lebanon’s Shiite fundamentalist movement Hezbollah, a sworn foe of the Jewish state’*. This propaganda on Hamas/Hezbollah is deliberately deleted from all Arabic translated texts, for on this issue there is a counter-consensus/ common sense which deviates from the US established line.

It can also be argued that the realities or identities of these organizations become, according to Berger and Luckmann (1967), “socially constructed” by a particular media society. These identities, which can be formed by the media or the translation processes, are systematically maintained by the hegemonic class, and the audience helps maintain this social structure that then becomes commonsensical.

In addition to the above, Herman and Chomsky discuss another important ideological notion that works by hegemony. They reveal how other nations can be marginalized by a propaganda system that will portray their people or victims as “**unworthy victims**” and that ingroups accept these classifications. They explain that our sympathy with “**worthy victims**” vs. unworthy victims has ideological implications. That is to say, this kind of “fabrication” can be perceived through the generous details given to the victims of our allies or institutions or those who by consensus serve our “societal purpose”. In this concern, we also note continual description given to witnesses from ingroups and their quotations, with continual focus on either victims of terrorism, as found in the English texts, or victims of occupation, as found in the Arabic texts (see how section 6.3 gives textual details for the concept of worthy victims vs. unworthy victims). To Herman and Chomsky, this qualitative difference is marked, for example, by giving the unworthy victims a “low-keyed” profile. Here sympathies cannot be evoked, because these groups are perceived as “dissidents” from one’s patriotic beliefs. To illustrate the notion of worthy vs. unworthy victims from a macro-perspective, we may examine the following comparisons given in tables 3.1 and 3.2 based on information taken from the main corpus (excerpts are taken from Appendix A):

A- Israeli victims:

ST	TT
<p>A suicide bombing killed 28 people in an Israeli hotel... a bombing on a bus near Haifa on Wednesday killed 8 Israelis...</p> <p>Powell got a first-hand view of the <i>carnage</i> (Reuters A)</p>	<p>Deleted from Reuters Arabic translation.</p> <p>وألقى باول نظرة على موقع الانفجار...</p> <p>BT: Powell got a view of the <i>blast site</i>... (Reuters Arabic)</p>
<p>Palestinian teenagers detonated their car laden with explosives next to an inter-city bus... a Tel Aviv bombing killed 6 people last month...</p> <p>Adding to the gloomy mood of <i>Israelis</i>... (Reuters B)</p>	<p>Deleted from Reuters Arabic translation.</p> <p>ومما أضاف الى الجو القاتم في اسرائيل...</p> <p>BT: adding to the gloomy mood <i>in Israel</i>... (Reuters Arabic)</p>
<p>An ambulance worker said the Israelis were caught in gunfire in an alley leading from the shrine to settler enclaves. (Reuters C)</p>	<p>Deleted from Reuters Arabic translation.</p>
<p>The morning rush-hour bombing, which destroyed a municipal bus <i>filled with school children and commuters</i> (Reuters F)</p>	<p>الهجوم الفلسطيني الذي وقع صباح الثلاثاء ودمر حافلة مزدحمة...</p> <p>BT: The Palestinian attack which took place on Tuesday morning and destroyed <i>a full bus</i>. (Reuters Arabic)</p>

Table 3.1 The portrayal of Israeli victims in the present study

B- Arab victims:

ST	TT
<p>Arafat accused the Israeli forces of committing 'massacres and slaughters against Palestinians...'</p> <p>(Reuters A)</p>	<p>فقال عرفات: ندين بقوة وبشدة المذبحة والمجازر التي ارتكبتها وترتكبها قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي ضد المدنيين واللاجئين الفلسطينيين في مدينة نابلس ومخيم جنين وضد كنيسة المهد في بيت لحم وغيرها من المناطق الفلسطينية على مدى الاسابيع الماضية.</p> <p>BT: Arafat said: <i>We strongly and firmly condemn the carnage and massacres that have been and are being committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian civilians and refugees in Nablus and Jenin camp and against Al-Mahd church in Bethlehem and other Palestinian areas over the past two weeks.</i></p> <p>(Reuters Arabic)</p>
<p>Swalha was shot dead by Israeli troops during a sweep for militants... after he threw grenades at the soldiers.</p> <p>(Reuters C)</p>	<p>Deleted and replaced by the following quotation given by a Palestinian official:</p> <p>ان هذا يأتي في سياق الرد على جريمة اغتيال القائد البطل قائد سرايا القدس في شمال الضفة الغربية الشهيد اياد صوالحة.</p> <p>BT: <i>This comes in response to the assassination crime of the leader, the hero, the leader of Jerusalem brigade in the West bank, martyr Iyad Swalha.</i></p> <p>(Reuters Arabic)</p>
<p>Hisham Khrewesh, 20, was killed during a shootout... Ibrahim Atari, a local offshoot of the mainstream Fatah group was gunned down... Hisham Khrwesh, 20, a member of the radical Islamic movement Hamas...</p> <p>(AFP B)</p>	<p>ابراهيم عطاري أب لاربعة أطفال من كتائب العودة والشهيد الثالث ويدعى هشام خريوش عشرون عاما من حركة المقاومة الاسلامية حماس...</p> <p>BT: <i>Martyr Ibrahim Atari, father of four children from Alawda brigades and the third martyr Hisham Khrwesh, 20, of the Islamic resistance movement Hamas...</i></p> <p>(Al-Manar)</p>

Table 3.2 The portrayal of Arab victims in the present study

In the light of the above examples that recur in the English and Arabic media texts, one discerns a propaganda campaign by the elites in the West to fight *terrorism* vs. a propaganda campaign by the Arab elites to fight *occupation*. The above examples show how such campaigns are maintained to sideline either the suicide bombers or the Israeli

forces. In a large proportion of Reuters or AFP articles on suicide bombing there are examples of what Herman and Chomsky refer to as “quotations or assertions of outrage, indignation, profound shock” (1994: 43) towards Israeli victims that are not found in the Arabic texts, in addition to giving reasons for Israel’s retaliation. Moreover, no sympathy is given to the Palestinian suicide bombers.

One may further note how the above victims are portrayed in the New York Times as follows:

The statement specifically condemned the Jerusalem bombing, which killed 6 people and injured scores (Israeli victims) vs.

Palestinians allege many civilians have been killed in the Israeli operation to wipe out militant networks in the W.B. (Palestinian victims).

New York Times, 13 April 2002 (Appendix B).

Israeli rescue workers struggled to evacuate the wounded from a dusty, exposed alley, the commander of Israeli forces in this divided city was one of those killed... how many of the dead and wounded were civilians... how many were security forces was not clear early this morning (Israeli victims) vs.

Soldiers hunted the killers and their accomplices... soldiers shot dead at least 3 Palestinians whom they identified as killers (Palestinian victims).

New York Times, 16 November 2002 (Appendix B).

According to Herman and Chomsky, media recipients become passive victims of the systems of thought built into the ideological system, and they comply in their own oppression. In other words, through a particular propaganda system, the audience, by consent, sympathizes either with Israeli victims or with Arab victims.

Obviously, shifts in translation are also related to political action taken by the translator and commissioner. Rather than relaying the political and economic agendas of the foreign text, s/he chooses to guard against the hegemony and the news manufacturing of the foreign text. For example, Al-Manar translators respond to their own societal structure that has equally established its political, economic base and moral filters. The translator is now serving this new ideological structure by entering into his/her own consensus and by

attuning to the elite's interests. S/he maintains the propaganda campaigns of the Arab world that tend to discredit the political and economic hegemony of the foreign powers.

In conclusion, a politically sensitive text in the media seems to be indicative of a dominant hegemony and the particular sympathies that the elite can win by consent through daily and constant propaganda. These notions have therefore to be integrated within the ideological analysis of any politically motivated discourse.

What we actually need to see at this stage is the meaning of counter-hegemony or resistance to hegemonic discourses as we have been observing via the predictable shifts in translation. This will be the subject of the following discussion.

3.4 The Ideology of Resistance

Much is said nowadays about resistance to occupation in the Middle East. This phenomenon, which has a great deal of impact upon media translations, will be addressed here in terms of counter-hegemony, struggle or resistance. In section 3.3.1 we have seen how Gramsci is concerned with the common sense of a nation that prevents them from forming an alliance to overcome the ideology of the elites. His theory is fruitful in showing us how the translator has to deal with the common sense of a foreign text that has won the consent of other nations. We also noted that relaying the common sense of the foreign text might be politically sensitive and cause a protest from the target audience. Therefore, this notion of resistance must be addressed in order to gain a better understanding of competing discourses.

It may be useful here to begin with Van Dijk's (1998) conception of the **"ideological group schema"** which causes a legitimation of power inequality. Basically, Van Dijk proposes that when groups are in conflict they usually identify themselves in terms of a "polarization schema defined by the opposition between Us and Them... and that groups build an ideological image of themselves and others, in such a way that (generally) We are represented positively, and They come out negatively. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies" (Van Dijk,

1998: 69). In this concern, Van Dijk cites examples of “Us (Westerners, whites) vs. Them (non-Westerners, blacks)”. If we consider the shifts in translation, we may observe a counter-ideological schema seen in the following polarization:

Us (Arabs, freedom fighters) and Them (USA and their allies, occupiers).

This new polarization resists the ideological beliefs of the source texts, thus making such beliefs “evaluative” rather than “factual”, or what Van Dijk calls “delegitimated” texts that cause threat to existing values and norms.

Furthermore, Van Dijk refers to the conception of the “**ideological enemy**” which is attributed to “Them”. In the present corpus this enemy could either be ‘*activists*’/ ‘*militants*’ from Hamas or ‘*occupiers*’/ ‘*Zionists*’ from Israel. In other words, ideologies involving group conflicts can best be addressed when they are measured against a dominant group schema that decides on the communicative practices, face-keeping strategies or even relevance as will gradually be explored.

Other influential insights on ideologies of struggle are provided by the Marxist theorist Voloshinov. Voloshinov draws attention to ideologies of resistance and struggle that give the news representations their “multi-accentual”⁶ meanings. He argues: “any word can be reaccentuated - a curse can be spoken as a word of praise- and any word can provoke its counter-word” (cited in Morris, 1994: 13). In other words, the force of the text comes from contexts of struggle and conflict that should be seen as the norm. In this context, the translation shifts seem to resist the “uni-accentual” meaning of the ST in order to give it a counter-hegemonic meaning. This struggle over signs ends up with new ideological positions and a new discourse is thus created. As Voloshinov further argues, the ideological sign has “two faces like Janus. Any current curse word can become a word of praise, any current truth must inevitably sound to many other people as the greatest lie. This inner dialectic quality of the sign comes out fully in the open only in times of social crises or revolutionary changes.” (ibid, 55). Consider how the hegemonic meanings of the ST are resisted in the following Arabic representations (refer to Appendix A):

AFP B:

Three soldiers killed 3 Palestinians vs.

⁶ From accent implying difference.

Al-Manar Translation:

استشهد ثلاثة فلسطينيين برصاص جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني

BT:

Three Palestinians were martyred by the bullets of the Zionist occupying army

It is observed through this counter-hegemonic representation that Al-Manar equally struggles to have its own uni-accentual meaning which the audience seems to prefer, especially during political crises or struggle. By resisting the domination and the authoritative ideology of the foreign, target texts similarly become filled with ideological content and contending voices that need to be analysed in politically sensitive discourses (see section 6.3.5 for pragmatic analysis of this ideological concept).

The issue of resistance during revolutionary situations was also raised by Bourdieu (1991). Bourdieu contends that political struggle can obviously be seen in struggle over language legitimacy, naming and classification of hierarchies performed by the authorized agents of the state who assert their right to legislate on language.

To conclude this section, we may note from a theoretical point of view that the sensitive ideological content of the ST does not win the consent of the Arab audience owing to resistance found in the target situation. Therefore, it is argued that shifts which are ideologically motivated deserve to be studied in their own right, for they make the discourse analyst more aware of those forces that underlie the final production of politically sensitive translations in the media. At this stage, we also need to see how the ideologies of domination, hegemony or resistance are actually discussed by the media scholars themselves in order to enable us to produce well-founded contextual analysis and findings. This will be our following discussion.

3.5 Ideology and Reading Positions in Mass Media

This section will shed light on the contribution of media scholars in providing useful insights on hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies expressed in media discourse.

We shall mainly relate to those British media scholars who utilized the Marxist philosophy and developed debates on ideologies of struggle and the politics of resistance.

Hall, Fiske and Morley (1999) emphasize the ideological role of the media by questioning the socially governed knowledge and prejudices that determine the encoding (production) and decoding (reception) of the news message. In this concern, they refer to an “**ideological code**” capable of either winning the assent of the audience or causing resistance.

Many of these debates build on Parkin’s (1972) influential model and suggest three positions which the news decoder may adopt in relation to the encoded message. In other words, the recipient may engage in the following readings:

- Accept the original interpretation and reproduce its dominant hegemonic code (**preferred reading**); or
- partly accept the original interpretation (**negotiated reading**); or
- resist the original interpretation (**oppositional or counter-hegemonic reading**).

In this context, every encoded message by the text producer, whether in Reuters, AFP or Al-Manar, has to be aligned with the ideological reading position brought to bear by the reader. For example, this will make the audience either accept or resist a discourse supporting ‘*war on Palestinian terrorism*’ or ‘*martyrdom*’.

By the same token, Hall (1999) points out that the operation of ideology through the media tries to win the consent of the audience by assuming that the decoder will reproduce the same ideological position of the author to achieve a preferred reading. He argues, however, that the decoding might be met by a different audience alienated from the original discourse, as noted in the oppositional positions or different decodings encountered in the Arabic texts.

According to media and ideology scholars, shifts in the present study are ethical and legitimate, for they seem to produce texts that conform to the preferred reading of the Arabs nationwide owing to the different ideological positions they adopt. Van Dijk

sharply explains that the forms of resistance are also legitimate for “most forms of applied ethics will accept the legitimation of resistance against domination.” (1998: 11). In order to see how this oppositional stance takes place in media translation, consider the following news representations:

Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat (Reuters English) vs. *Palestinian President Yasser Arafat* (Reuters Arabic).

We observe here that the Arabic text has its preferred reading according to what has been legitimized by the political structures in the Arab world. Morley (1999) comments that the decodings of a political event are determined by the institutions in which they are situated. The event can usually succeed in transmitting a dominant code only when it has won the assent of the audience. Consider the following oppositional readings found in the Arab media:

Example A:

Reuters C (Appendix A):

12 dead in Hebron attack... it was the deadliest against Israelis since the start of a Palestinian uprising.

TT:

اسرائيل تبدأ الرد على مقتل 12 مستوطنا في هجوم بالخليل ... وهذا أعنف هجوم على الاسرائيليين منذ اندلاع الانتفاضة الفلسطينية قبل عامين ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT:

Israel starts retaliation for the killing of 12 settlers in Hebron attack... it was the deadliest attack on Israelis since the outbreak of a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation over 2 years.

New York Times (Appendix B):

Israel weighs response after 12 killed in Hebron ambush

New York Times, 16 November 2002;

Assafir (Appendix B):

الجهاد تعلن مسؤوليتها عن العملية المتقنة ... استشهاديان يحولان معسكرا للاحتلال الى جحيم

12 قتيلا اسرائيليا بينهم قائد لواء الخليل

Assafir, 16 November 2002.

BT:

Al-Jihad announces its responsibility for the well-knit operation: Two martyrs turn an occupation camp into an inferno - 12 Israelis dead, one is a commander in Al-Khalil.

Example B:

BBC News (Appendix B):

“All parties have a responsibility to stop funding or inciting terror and the parties must see clearly that a murderer is not a martyr, Bush said”

BBC News, 18 April 2002;

BBC Arabic News (Appendix B):

ولكن أعنف كلمات الرئيس الأمريكي كانت في ما يعتبره دعما عربيا للعمليات الانتحارية حيث أكد على ضرورة قطع الدعم المالي لما سماه الارهابيين وضرورة ايضاح أن القتلة ليسوا شهداء.

BBC Arabic. Com, 18 April 2002.

BT:

But the US President’s toughest words were on what he considered as the Arab funding of the suicide operations. He stressed that the funding of those whom he called terrorists must stop and that it is necessary to explain that a murderer is not a martyr.

The starkly opposing differences the analyst can see through reading these texts reflect the competing interests at play. The above extracts can shed light on the established orders that control perceptions and preferences in the West vs. those established orders in the Middle East. In this respect, the above media scholars refer to the “polysemy of reception” that emphasizes the power of audiences and their decodings that are seen to be participating in a political process.

The implication of ideology in media translation can also be viewed in what Hall (1999) calls “**racist premises**”. The racist premises are usually formed by daily inculcation

through the media discourse that makes them commonsensical. In other words, ideology invisibly works in Al-Manar texts if there is no apparent oppositional reading for instance to the daily inculcation of ‘*occupying Zionists*’. In this regard “ideologies tend to disappear from view into the taken-for-granted naturalized world of commonsense” (Hall, 1999: 272). Similarly, these racist premises can be also seen in AFP texts (e.g. *radical Hamas/ terrorists*). Here the media translator does not make such descriptions work “by default” if the Arab audience has a different political position on this issue. This leads to the argument that embedded ideologies with a counter-hegemonic code become a challenging task for translators and translation researchers.

What emerges explicitly from the above line of argument and examples, is that the reception of a politically sensitive event elicits an act of resistance by the translator. This is related to the different ideological structure of the receiving society with reading preferences of the media message. We have also noted that the forms of political resistance to an alien media code can be legitimized and built into the translation commission itself, thus achieving the effects preferred by both the target elites and their target audience. Simply put, the ideological shifts can enhance and reproduce the desired reading positions of the target elites. In theory, it can be said that shifts are ideologically legitimate because they reproduce the desired reading positions of the target elites. But how can we validate this argument empirically? Our next section will, therefore, bring the above theoretical debates on ideology to real testing so that we can make some forms of appropriate generalization about the legitimacy of shifts in media translation.

3.6 An Arab Perspective on Foreign Ideology (A Practical Survey)

This section aims to test the above theoretical debates on ideology from an empirical perspective. This brief survey will highlight the common beliefs shared amongst the Arab and Muslim elites. The perspectives of these elites should make us examine the dominant ideologies in the target texts and will contribute to our conclusion on whether discourse shifts are a legitimate exercise in translation.

In order to conduct a useful debate on ideology in translation studies, we have actually to test and give evidence of the lived experiences of the target culture. In addition, we have

to touch upon the ideologues⁷ of the leaders or elite who are supposed to articulate the goals of the Arabs nationwide. Here, translation is logically seen to be either tailored to or influenced by these pre-formulated structures and interests of those in power.

This survey cannot possibly deal with all ideological postures adopted by Arab/Muslim politicians. However, it does bear on ideological trends encountered in some popular Lebanese and Arabic media sources in so far as a critical analysis of the Marxist theory is addressed. This survey will also explain how the elites set the agenda of public opinion. All information gathered in this section has been authenticated (refer to Appendices B, D and Arabic references in Bibliography).

At the outset, we may refer to the ideology expressed by Reuters in the Middle East who launched their 'Arabic online report'. The editors state that the service in the TT is tailored for the needs and interests of the M.E. audiences. It was learned during the interviews with Reuters representatives in Beirut, that Reuters professional translators are expected to produce a politically sensitive text that is "credible", "objective" and "unbiased". In other words, Reuters translators should have "a great deal of respect for the Arabic culture, ideology and identity". It was also learned that the final productions are expected to take into consideration both market forces to "sell" the news and the Arabic preferred readership. The examples provided by Reuters representative were as follows:

- More details are usually given about Palestinian victims;
- the word *violence* is usually scare quoted (e.g. "*violence*") if it must be kept in the TT;
- names of sensitive political organizations are re-categorized. e.g. *Hezbollah terrorists* is translated as *Hezbollah which America and Israel accuse of terrorism*;
- details from the institutionalized voice of Arab officials are usually added.

In other words, Reuters chooses to minimize what might be seen as bias by the target readers. This validates our above ideological debates on the interpellation of subjects, counter-ideology and the polysemous reading of the same event in the TT. As a result, new ideological positions, preferred readings or hegemonic structures start to emerge through translation.

⁷ Van Dijk (1998) defines this term as a system of ideas laid by the elite.

More explicit counter-hegemonic readings can be found in the discourse of Al-Manar. It is worth mentioning here that the discourse of Al-Manar which seems to gain a wider audience worldwide, has been closely monitored by international media agencies such as the BBC. This survey will shed more light on the ideological orders behind the final discourses found in Al-Manar and what makes such discourses, which have established an anti-hegemonic code to that of the source text, a legitimate phenomenon. In order to examine the ideology of Al-Manar, we need to highlight at the outset some of the examples cited by their chief editor:

ST: *Israeli Defence Minister*

TT: وزير الحرب الاسرائيلي

BT: *Israeli War Minister*

ST: *Israel*

TT: الكيان الصهيوني / كيان العدو / الكيان الغاصب

BT: *the Zionist entity, the enemy's entity, the usurping entity*

ST: *Northern Israeli border with Lebanon*

TT: حدود لبنان وفلسطين المحتلة

BT: *Lebanese border with occupied Palestine*

ST: *The disputed region of Kashmir*

TT: منطقة كشمير التي تحتلها الهند

BT: *The region of Kashmir occupied by India*

Here, Al-Manar translators view the ST as an offer of information that can neither determine the terminology of the TT nor its values. In other words, the translation act should relay information, “be credible” to the Arab audience and adopt “firm ideological positions” against whom they may perceive as the ideological enemy.

In approaching the Muslim and Arab audience, Al-Manar translators ensure that their audience is constantly reminded of a state of war with Israel and Israel's ideology which is believed to be implemented predominantly by violence (see section 3.2). Also, Al-Manar's ideological structure is based on different historical and religious beliefs that should be reflected with efficiency in translation. For instance, ‘*suicide*’, being an act

forbidden in Islam, is given alternative reading in Al-Manar translation, i.e. '*martyrdom*'; or '*resistance to occupation*'. Al-Manar also has its own ideology in portraying their worthy victims; for example, the Muslim victims in Kashmir are usually portrayed as worthy and are therefore given more details.

In order to see how these ideologies really work, it is crucial to refer to the superstructure of the Arab media from a top-down perspective, i.e. through the political and religious apparatuses that ensure their production as these apparatuses can pre-formulate many of the everyday ideological beliefs encountered in Arabic media and in media translation. The discourses of these apparatuses are usually reproduced to their own audiences as undisputed knowledge. In this respect we may refer in our case study of Al-Manar to the dominant and hegemonic ideology of Hezbollah, Al-Manar's elite. Hezbollah ideology is usually seen as an opposition to that of a uni-polar and coercive USA in the Middle East. Their ideological interests against Israel and the USA are energetically defended in the media discourse, especially in Al-Manar's news representations including translation and other media outlets. This ideological constraint was supported by prominent media and political figures, including Hezbollah leader himself. In the second Arab and Islamic Media National Conference held in Beirut on the 17 September 2003, it was asserted that Arab media must be extremely careful in selecting its terminology, especially when dealing with the Palestinian issue and that all Arab media organizations and politicians must unite when dealing with the Palestinian cause. They called upon the Arab and Islamic media outlets to resist what they see as biased hegemonies, to capitalize on victimization of Palestinians and to promote concepts of their heroism in the media discourse. Other prominent figures pointed out that the media should address the imbalance that Third World victims receive versus Israeli victims (see section 3.3.2 on worthy victims) and should resist colonizing terminology that imposes new world orders and distinctions (The Daily Star, 18 September 2003, Appendix B).

Earlier, in a similar vein, the Arab leaders summit, held in Beirut in March 2002, expressed similar concerns on ideologies of resistance (refer to The Daily Star, Annahar and Al-Mustaqbal in Appendix B). For instance, the Syrian President Al-Assad warned against the new '*war of terminology*' imposed by foreign media. He stressed that accepting a foreign hegemonic terminology or its dominant taxonomies implies colonialism. This foreign colonialism is more dangerous than military coercion and can

be simply reproduced through using the same textual practices of the West. Furthermore, Al-Assad challenged all Arab leaders and media institutions to legitimate resistance in the daily practices of Arab media.

Moreover, the Kuala Lumpur declaration by Islamic leaders held in March 2002, adopted a resolve to combat terrorism and clearly stated that the term '*terrorism*' could not apply to struggles of resistance of people under colonial or foreign occupation.

This consensus on the ideologies of resistance was also re-affirmed at the 14th Islamic Conference held in Cairo in May 2002. Similar calls were voiced in Lebanon by the leading spiritual and intellectual leader Fadlallah (Al-Mustaqbal, Appendix B) who warned against new threats of foreign media and its colonizing terminology. Fadlallah questions the categories of perception of a colonizing social order, and urges that they should not be recognized in the media discourse.

These political practices and representations are part of the theory of class struggle. The categories of '*terrorism*' or '*resistance*', according to which a group envisages itself, contribute to the reality of a particular group and its discourse. The politics of resistance and the struggle over meanings have been extensively discussed by senior journalists and editors in Lebanon (e.g. Sahhab 2002; Assammak 2002 & 2003)⁸. This media consensus argues that alien terminology and foreign myths during a state of war should be resisted in the press at a particular moment in history. They argue that translators should play a new role by reproducing their national ideological positions and by resisting colonial domination, especially when the foreign media try to suppress important ideological facts.

3.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has proposed an essential framework to the study of ideology in politically sensitive texts by focusing on the ideological structures that control shifts in translation. It was concluded that the shifts encountered in the corpus are indicative of many ideological notions that become important factors capable of controlling the biased meanings of a

⁸ See Arabic bibliography.

politically sensitive text. The ideological notions identified were: dominant hegemony, counter-hegemony/ resistance, interpellation of subjects by ideological state apparatuses, racist premises, ideological schema and preferred ideological readings. Our extensive ideological perspectives of politically sensitive texts will be subjected to a restricted and rigorous type of analysis in Chapter 6.

The examination of domination, hegemony and resistance showed that discourse shifting is, in theory, a legitimate phenomenon. It responds to the target's interpellation system, common sense, racist premises, ideological schema, pluralist meanings and preferred readings. In brief, ideological shifting occurs for two ideological reasons:

- 1- unconsciously through the influence of target domination and hegemony;
- 2- consciously through the influence of resistance to foreign ideologies and foreign codes.

This chapter also proposed a practical survey through which the analyst can investigate whether shifts are ideologically legitimate or not. In our case, it was observed that the ideological shifts are motivated, legitimized by the ruling target institutions and furthermore are integrated in the web of the target institutional affiliations.

Finally, it was concluded that the ideological content of a sensitive text is at core evaluative and not factual by default, for it responds to the important notion of ideological group schema. Based on this conclusion we shall be able to enhance our argument on both the skopos theory of translation and the descriptive use of translation which will gradually be explored in the present study.

Having examined how dominant ideologies, reproduced by the media and political apparatuses, can influence the final productions of politically sensitive texts, we now need to examine how this power becomes internal in the language use itself and in the act of translation. This will be the task of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDY OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TEXTS

4.1 Introductory Remarks

The key objective of this study is to attempt to explain, at least partly, the phenomenon of discourse shifting in the translation of politically sensitive news reports. It is, therefore, of vital importance to take into account the meaning of discourse and detect the discursive frameworks within which different communities produce and receive sensitive media texts.

Chapter 3 has shown how dominant ideologies can be reproduced through the power of the ruling class and its social system that can in theory legitimate the subjective representations and interpretations of the political sign. At this stage of the present study, it is necessary to see this power as internal to meanings that we daily practise or the language we use, namely discourse. The proposed study in this chapter will therefore focus on this connection between language use and the social or cognitive aspects that surround it.

There have been a large number of discourse studies on the critical analysis of media language; however, we still have not seen a complex model that can investigate the discourses of politically sensitive texts. For this reason, this chapter will give instrumental frames of reference needed in the study of a politically sensitive discourse (sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4). It will then suggest an innovative and practical model for the critical language analysis of politically sensitive texts (section 4.5). This linguistic model will be examined and validated in Chapter 6. Finally, in section 4.6 conclusions will be drawn on the critical discourse awareness that needs to be taken further in contemporary translation studies.

4.2 Discourse and Power

4.2.1 The Foucauldian Frame of Reference

Critical discourse studies (CDS) draw on different disciplines such as ethnography, ideology (coercion, hegemony or class struggle), socio-linguistics and functional linguistics.

At the outset of our investigation, we may refer to the important notion of power in media discourse as was usefully discussed in the 1970s by Foucault (see McNay, 1994; Hindess, 1996; Mills, 1997) who has been an important reference for key discourse scholars. Foucault discusses meanings within the larger structures of society, that is, meaning as discourse. Foucault does not favour the use of the term *ideology* because it can be seen as a form of repression or imposition. He therefore introduces the term discourse in the sense of power being lived out and negotiated through a society rather than being owned by the state apparatuses; in other words, power being dispersed through the use of language itself. For example, a stereotypical view of a power relation between a president and a nation would produce statements that imply commands they have to accept such as: *All in the Middle East must choose and must move decisively against terrorist acts... All parties have a responsibility to stop funding terror and the parties must see clearly that a murderer is not a martyr...*

According to Foucault, discourse consists of statements (utterances or texts), particular structures, and regimes of truth that work according to dominant power. A particular discourse has its own coherence, order, a ruling force and practices, which are not stable over time. Power transmitted through discourse can be tracked through its discursive structure or constraints, that is, the systemic conceptions, knowledge, opinions and ways of behaving that are “historically situated” within specific contexts and with special effects. For example, the discursive structure of a statement such as ‘*Israeli occupation*’ will make Arab subjects, being the effect of specific power relations in the Arab world, behave within a common constraint when defining themselves as still under American-Israeli strategic domination, thus, adopting a common position (e.g. anti-Israeli). This discursive framework of ‘*occupation*’ determines the style of translation, the type of speech delivered by Arab leaders or even ways of thinking and talking amongst the Arabs nationwide. Furthermore, this discursive structure will allow Reuters or Al-Manar translators to articulate shifted statements in the TT such as:

BT: *Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation* as we see in Reuters Arabic vs. *Palestinian uprising* as we see in English Reuters;
or

كيان العدو

BT: *the enemy's entity* as we see in Al-Manar vs. *Israel* as we see in AFP.

Given a Foucauldian frame of reference, it can be seen that the target discourse undermines the power and knowledge structures constituted by a western discourse concerning Israelis and Palestinians. In other words, one starts to negotiate power relations that can produce different forms of linguistic behaviour and equally constrain them. As Foucault notes, “discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it” (cited in McNay, 1994: 101).

This shifting into a new version of truth in the TT is in itself a new discursive framework that has different knowledge and power relations. It can be argued here that the ST (Reuters/ AFP) is constituted through western discourses that make the world believe that contemporary western politics bring about progress and improvement to mankind. The new language description seen in the target texts can be further addressed within Foucault's useful discussion of the “discontinuity of discourse”. Foucault debates the issue that discourse should be seen as a continuous process. He stresses that discourse should be seen as “a series of lurches from one system of classification and representation to another” (Mills, 1997: 59). He emphasizes the point that the analyst should discuss the “strangeness” of other discourses and their development in a special moment in history rather than discussing their extension, circulation and continuity. As we may observe, discourse shifts in this study seem to be a case of discontinuity to the orders of the source texts. That is to say, it is a phenomenon in history that is discontinuous to the ST systems of knowledge and is worthy of inspection by critical discourse studies.

Therefore, according to this Foucauldian framework, it is argued that the translator's perception of what needs to be included or shifted in a sensitive text in fact reflects the following important factors that need to be investigated further in this study:

- The discontinuity of the ST discursive constraints (e.g. ideas, power relations, ways of behaving and opinions).
- The different classification system in the target society that in our case “charts the shifts which take place within the machinery of thinking” (Mills, 1997: 60).
- Struggle over power and word legitimacy where imposition on the usage of language comes from contestation of ideologies. That is, the sensitive text in the target culture can either collaborate with or contest the political moves in the ST.

Foucault’s theory on discourse is mainly philosophical: although it draws attention to the usage of language and its production to transmit power, it fails to account for the specific language descriptions that can actually disperse this power. Nevertheless, his theorization of discourse and power has inspired many discourse scholars who have developed his approach in a more critical way. Our next section will show how a very important frame of reference on power and language can fuse important linguistic notions into the study of political discourse.

4.2.2 Language and Power (Fairclough)

Fairclough’s work has been instrumental in finding connections between language and the social power of groups or institutions. In different studies (1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2001) he seeks to examine how textual analysis can contribute to the analysis of media discourse and its hidden or manipulative power. By drawing on the work of Gramsci and Althusser, Fairclough notes that our discourse in practice (production and creativity) is constrained by power relations. A news report, for example, can actualize the effects of social power through a consistent handling of causality, agency and ways of positioning readership. On the other hand, Fairclough argues that people can engage in resisting a particular media discourse in their struggle against colonization. But in order to examine the power underlying the different discourses of Al-Manar, Reuters or AFP, it is necessary to approach Fairclough’s conception of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which offers an innovative approach to analysing the media discourse. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997) best put it:

“CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’... Discourse is socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped: it constitutes

situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it... Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).

In this respect, we may refer to Fairclough’s (2001) specific procedure of critical discourse analysis that builds theoretically on Foucault’s analysis of discourse and its order⁹. The procedure comprises three dimensions as follows:

“Description” is concerned with language analysis that makes us aware of power and discourse effects. According to Fairclough, powerful participants in media discourse can control the text by exercising the following types of constraints:

- “content”: that is, what is included or excluded, thus, influencing the audience’s knowledge and beliefs: i.e. vocabulary choices;
- “relations” with readership: such as enmity or solidarity, thus, influencing social relationships: i.e. politeness and formality;
- “subject” or identity: that is, how power positions one as subject. For example, in the current study, the translator could be positioned by his/her editorial control or power holders as subject in an emancipatory discourse against western political domination that in turn influences the classification schemes in the text.

Fairclough’s perspective enables us to deal directly with the more detailed mechanisms involved in the relations between language and the orders of discourse. In this concern, Fairclough draws mainly on Halliday’s functionalist approach as well as pragmatic approaches to analyse discourse. Thus, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic meanings in relation to power and ideology start to emerge at this stage of this study.

Within the language description element, Fairclough suggests examining many features, such as the selection of particular grammar structures (e.g. transitivity and passivisation); modality; categorization in vocabulary; cohesion (e.g. lexical cohesion); informational

⁹ Order of discourse is concerned with the social system and power relationships of a community that determine linguistic variation and choices.

structuring (e.g. what is thematized or unthematized, foregrounding or backgrounding of information, expansion relations between clauses); making certain voices heard or marginalized; being polite (face and solidarity); speech acts; and presuppositions¹⁰. Fairclough emphasizes that through language description, relations of power and questions of authority become more visible. That is to say, language description subsumes the analysis of those textual features that may seem “selective” in either the ST or the TT. More specifically, Fairclough notes that “one’s focus is constantly alternating between what is ‘there’ in the text, and the discourse type(s) which the text is drawing upon” (Fairclough, 2001: 92).

“Interpretation” gives “values” to the specific set of textual features found in the ST/TT as the analyst enters into the procedure of social interaction. This stage draws upon common-sense assumptions or what Fairclough terms “member resources”; that is, the cognitive aspect needed to interpret a text. Member resources such as beliefs, knowledge and presuppositions are also constrained by power and social institutions. This stage will inform our discourse analysis scheme in Chapter 6 because it will show how the text producer draws on different background knowledge systems, ideological assumptions and schemata in terms of cause and effect in order to render the text as common-sensical.¹¹

“Explanation” is concerned with the ideological reproduction of the social structures as outlined in Chapter 3. It is related to interpretation where meanings are rationalized and reproduced according to what has already been naturalized by the ST/TT society. In other words, to interpret a text, the analyst has to draw upon an awareness of the social struggles, the political institutions or educational systems that can influence the text producer’s (reporter or translator) member resources. For example, an AFP text can have a set of textual features (e.g. semantic categorization of Palestinians as *suicide bombers* or *militant groups*) that can be explained from different perspectives in the target situation. That is to say, it can be explained as bias against Palestinian fighters because it does not reproduce the target text’s social determinants or political assumptions. Throughout this study this stage can be observed whenever ideological struggle between the ST and the TT is made overt. In other words, the analyst has to rationalize what has already been naturalized by the ST/TT society. It is argued here that translation becomes an instance of discourse practice where the ST orders and member resources can be either reproduced or

¹⁰ Fairclough places speech acts and presuppositions under the interpretation stage although they may form part of the descriptive stage.

¹¹ Chapters 2 and 3 give an adequate account on these subjective meanings of discourse.

resisted. Fairclough's general procedure for critical discourse analysis will be a cornerstone in our discourse analysis in Chapter 6.

In his discussion of power relations and colonization through language, Fairclough also introduces the concept of a "strategic discourse" in critical language studies. A strategic discourse of a powerful institution aims at imposing new goals, orders or special perspectives in relation to "possible" worlds with special effects through consent or through language. It can be observed in the current study that the translator seeks to challenge the ST strategic goals or dominant orders rather than relaying them into the TT. In other words, s/he seeks to find what Fairclough terms "an emancipatory discourse" in order to transform the ST dominant orders via vocabulary, grammatical or pragmatic shifts. More specifically, relations of full equivalence with the ST are no longer sought. Here, the translator contributes to the struggle over language by drawing upon the interpretive resources of his/her target audience to avoid what Fairclough terms a "crisis" or a "problematic situation". This argument will enhance our conclusions on the Skopos theory and the descriptive vs. interpretive use of translation in the following chapters. The following example may be considered:

AFP D (Appendix A):

US envoy William Burns called here for calm on Lebanon's border with Israel and for support of Washington's "three-track" strategy for peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

TT:

مساعد وزير الخارجية الاميركي لشؤون الشرق الاوسط وليام بيرنز دعا في بيروت الى الهدوء على الخط الازرق بين لبنان وفلسطين المحتلة ودعم الجهود الاميركية من اجل اعادة اطلاق عملية التسوية في المنطقة.

BT:

US envoy to the Middle East William Burns called in Beirut for calm on the blue line between Lebanon and Occupied Palestine and for support of US efforts to renew the settlement process in the region.

It is concluded here that the ST poses a problematic situation for participants in the target situation. The ST features are interpreted differently according to the different ideological assumptions about struggle in the Middle East. As a result, the ST discourse is rationalized differently in the TT to contribute to the institutional assumptions of the new

audience. As Fairclough further notes, one must ask “what is going on, who’s involved, and the relations between those involved” (Fairclough, 2001: 137) especially in a strategic discourse where power relations are in question.

Given Fairclough’s frame of reference, it can be said that translation becomes a tool or a form of discourse practice (text production and text consumption) through which media translators can transform or maintain the ST “globalizing” tendencies. It is therefore essential in translation studies to address the question of power relations and discriminate between cultural relations that can be easily bridged in translation and power relations that can pose a challenge to translators. In our case, when it comes to who causes what to whom with what ideological effects in a sensitive context, shifting looms high especially when the translator has to rationalize whether the Palestinian bomber is *a martyr* rather than a criminal. Therefore, in considering media discourse, the analyst has to study this “relative weight” given to specific textual features within a representation that unravels different power structures.

4.3 Discourse, Cognition and Bias (Van Dijk)

Another influential contribution to CDA has been made by Van Dijk (1984, 1985, 1988, 1998). Van Dijk provides essential qualitative studies on racism, bias, ethnic prejudices and cognition in the critical analysis of the media. Here, Van Dijk’s conceptions of cognition in the critical analysis of a political discourse will be addressed. We have already discussed the subjective and cognitive meaning of the sign in Chapter 2, common sense and the ideological schema in Chapter 3. Fairclough has also referred us to the importance of member resources during the interpretation stage. However, it is still imperative to shed more light on this cognitive aspect and uncover its connection with discourse, as discussed by Van Dijk.

According to Van Dijk (1998), discourse is a “social process” that can be sketched in an imaginary triangle consisting of discourse, cognition (i.e. knowledge, beliefs and mental models) and society (i.e. domination and social institutions). As Van Dijk notes, “discourse and its mental dimensions (such as its meanings) are multiply embedded in social situations and social structures. And conversely, social representations, social relations and social structures are often constituted, constructed, validated, normalized, evaluated and legitimated in and by text and talk” (Van Dijk, 1998: 6). In analysing news

as discourse, Van Dijk (1988, 1998) refers thus to the “textual” and “contextual” dimensions of discourse:

The **textual** dimension is concerned with language descriptions where the analyst employs pragmatic, stylistic and rhetorical studies. Hence, textual descriptions should focus upon lexical selection, derogatory style, syntactic structures (e.g. agency and passivization), conditional relations between clauses reflecting cause and effect, presuppositions, selective or emotive quoting, thematic structuring, metaphors and speech acts. All these aspects will be dealt with in section 6.3.

The **contextual** dimension is related to a cognitive component and a social or ideological structure. In the current study, what may be seen as a biased news report or a biased translation should be addressed within what Van Dijk calls “preferred mental models”. The latter are concerned with the selection of political information in terms of its relevance and credibility. Van Dijk notes that the socio-cognitive analysis of media discourse is concerned with the subjectivity of experiences, evaluative beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, truth criteria, common sense, the cognitive construction of groups, the group’s identity and the legitimation of power by social and ideological institutions. These elements combine to organize a group’s interpretation processes as well as discourse representations that make them eventually non-neutral. In other words, the group schema that comprises this original set of beliefs becomes a biased one and results in producing a biased language. The latter cannot be recognized as biased by its group members, but as effective and coherent, for it is naturalized to represent their own common sense.

In this sense, Van Dijk emphasizes that in the news discourse there are no reliable media and that the analyst has to address first the concept of cognitive bias that reflects on many of the taken-for-granted textual and rhetorical practices. Consider how the mental models can be articulated through the following textual practices of a politically sensitive media text:

Reuters C (Appendix A):

It was the deadliest against Israelis in the West Bank city since the start of a Palestinian uprising more than two years ago.

TT:

وهذا أعنف هجوم على الاسرائيليين في المدينة منذ اندلاع انتفاضة فلسطينية قبل عامين ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT:

It was the deadliest attack on the Israelis in the city since the outbreak of a Palestinian uprising more than two years against Israeli occupation.

According to Van Dijk, the text production and consumption in Reuters could be interpreted as a “threat” in the ST situation but as a “promise” in the TT situation, because it shows different belief systems. This can be seen even more clearly in the following excerpt from Assafir newspaper reflecting the same news event:

نفذت حركة الجهاد الاسلامي في فلسطين أمس واحدة من أنجح وأدق عمليات المقاومة للاحتلال الاسرائيلي

Assafir, 16 November 2002 (Appendix B).

BT:

Jihad Islamic movement carried out in Palestine yesterday one of the most successful and precise operations of resistance against Israeli occupation.

Here, the Arabic text producers seem to produce a style matching with the subjective beliefs, opinions, values or collective memories of their own audiences. Van Dijk explains that our interpretation of events is “grounded in the socially and historically developed, accumulated and (discursively) transmitted experiences of the whole group” (Van Dijk, 1998: 91). We shall see at a later stage (section 6.3.3.2) that in politically sensitive texts the translator tends to exclude what s/he perceives as biased descriptions of ingroups, especially when group schemata between the source and target situations clash.

Based on Van Dijk’s frame of reference, power integrated in laws, habits or media translation can control one’s mind and constrain one’s mental representation, including the negative schema about the enemy. Power exercised by elites who control public discourse can also constrain one’s political presuppositions, hence making shifts in sensitive discourse coherent and relevant.

Furthermore, via the analysis of cognitive shifts in politically sensitive news reports, the analyst should be able to probe what elements are being ideologically foregrounded or backgrounded in order to make an event cognitively “memorable” and “credible” to the target audience (relate to sections 3.6, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5). Van Dijk provides examples of

quotations by the protagonist that involve emotional reactions or causes of the political event; the foregrounding of attitudinal themes; or the insertion of relevant information. According to Van Dijk, the discourse properties should answer important questions such as: “Who are we?’, Where do we come from?, Who belongs to us?, What do we (usually) do, and why?, What are our goals and values?” (Van Dijk, 1998: 121).

For instance, in the current study Al-Manar translators cannot be constructed as enemies to their own audience worldwide. Events relating to Arabs and Muslims sharing the same epistemic knowledge will therefore be positively represented in Al-Manar’s text description. In other words, the source discourse will not be merely negotiated as a matter of facts, but as opinions and evaluation about events. As Van Dijk further explains, what could be seen as “uncontested” knowledge is in fact false beliefs or half truths, especially when it is not “Ours”. This might characterize any politically sensitive discourse, whether in the ST or the TT (see Chapter 6).

In conclusion, discourse shifting is seen to be a response to what the translator might conceive as “discriminatory practices” at both the contextual and textual levels in the original text. From a critical point of view, Van Dijk suggests that within the contextual dimension of cognitive bias, the analyst needs to negotiate whether goals are shared, resources (religious, political or economic) are identical, membership criteria or values are equal or unequal.

It is argued at this stage of the present study that these cognitive dimensions should be analysed at both the contextual and textual levels in a politically sensitive discourse, regardless of whether they are relayed into the TT. It is also argued here that the ST can be seen as an offer of information when the mental schema or “truth criteria” of the ST does not blend in with the beliefs or knowledge of the target society. Readership in a politically sensitive news report requires credibility of source and authority as well as reader’s mental models that have pre-established schemata about ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. When these elements do not match equivalent models in the TT, shifting by the translator will not raise a protest, especially when the TT does not require direct access to the original. Interestingly enough, a shifted translation will produce a more credible and relevant news report, for example to Al-Manar’s viewers who have different expectations and different cognitive models.

4.4 Other Relevant Approaches to CDA

Other critical discourse analysts have raised political language awareness. Early attempts in Britain in the 1970s by Fowler et al., Kress and Hodge developed modern critical ideas through relating the news language to social semiotics (register), functional linguistics, socio-linguistics, pragmatics and psycholinguistics. They provided a number of linguistically oriented studies of media texts that articulate particular ideological positions.

Fowler's contribution on power and "discrimination in news discourse" (1991) has been particularly influential. Fowler stresses that "the power of discourse in facilitating and maintaining discrimination against members of groups is tremendous. Language provides names for categories, and so helps to set their boundaries and relationships; and discourse allows these names to be spoken and written frequently" (Fowler, 1991: 94). He further refers the analyst to what he calls the "ideological paradigms" in media discourse which assign a particular group constant descriptions and marked expressions. An ideological paradigm carries a particular system of categorization that is "camouflaged" by the media society. Within a paradigm one can track the repeated linguistic usage or structure towards a particular group that relates to pre-existing prejudices and power relations.

The following examples from our corpus reflect some of the linguistic features provided by Fowler that can, for instance, fall into the Palestinian paradigm:

- The use of "diminutive" lexical descriptions reflecting categorization. According to Fowler (1991) "diminutives" connote "disrespect" or "insults" or terms which fall into "a paradigm of animal abuse". Fowler cites examples taken from the Sun newspaper on "Arab rat... Libyan mad dog... hunted" (Fowler, 1991: 117). The use of diminutives will be seen in the current study in metaphors like "tanks *penned Arafat in*" (refer to Reuters B, Appendix A) or "soldiers *hunted* the killers... to *clean* these cities of terrorists" (refer to The New York Times, 16 November 2002 in Appendix B).
- "Overlexicalization" or "profusion of terms for an object or concepts" (Fowler, 1996: 218). For instance the overlexicalization of Palestinian attacks in Reuters texts (*such attacks... carnage... violence.... terrorist attacks*).
- "Speech acts" used in reporting (such as *claimed, demanded, accused*). As Fowler comments "speech acts are integrally enmeshed with the systems of conventions

that constitute a social and political world, and speech act analysis offers critical linguistics a direct point of entry into some practices through which society's ideas and rules are constructed" (Fowler, 1991: 88).

Fowler's stylistic survey, which basically builds on Halliday's model (see 4.5) in addition to pragmatic models, invites the critical analyst to explore the "grid" of descriptions that can lay bare the underpinning ideologies of a media outlet. In most cases these descriptions reflecting prejudices in media discourse are the same linguistic forms that the translator tends to transform in the translation process, as we will see in Chapter 6. This enhances our argument that the textual features of discourse shifts are the same features that characterize a politically motivated text.

Hodge and Kress's research on language in the news being "an instrument of control" (1993) has been equally significant. They investigate the power and solidarity functions that can manipulate language especially in a state of war. The "power function" is concerned with "relations of superiority and inferiority" such as representing Israelis in the Arabic news as *aggressors* with overt hostility; whereas the "solidarity function" is concerned with "equality" or the "blurring" of differences, e.g. backgrounding the agency of ingroups in a violent act. In other words, exacerbating differences with the ideological enemy simultaneously rests on the solidarity with ingroups. Power and solidarity functions can be seen at work in many instances (see speech acts and politeness in section 6.3.4).

Hodge and Kress also make reference to "transformations" in political media discourse, especially when a transformation in power is experienced. Transformation that can happen through language can transform, for example, what is "problematic" e.g. *building of a fence* between two nations into something less problematic e.g. *a security fence*. However, in Al-Manar translations the re-transformation reflects a different type of power relations. For example, translating the '*security fence*' into '*what they call a security fence*' is a linguistic transformation that reflects different claims for power and should be therefore described at the textual level. According to Hodge and Kress, these ideological transformations, whether in the ST or the TT, can surface through other tools such as transitivity including passivization and nominalization, the causal chain of events, modality, classification schemes in vocabulary or speech acts. Consider for example the following transformations in Al-Manar translations:

Eight civilians died and five were wounded Thursday by a missile that hit a vegetable market on the south-eastern edge of Baghdad, an Iraqi hospital source said.

AFP, 3 April 2003 (Appendix B).

Al-Manar Translation:

وفي آخر مستجدات العدوان الأمريكي على العراق، أفادت إحدى المستشفيات أن القوات الأمريكية الغازية قتلت ثمانية مدنيين وجرحت خمسة آخرين بعدما أصاب صاروخ أمريكي سوق خضار في الجنوب الشرقي من العاصمة العراقية بغداد.

BT:

In the latest US aggressions on Iraq, an Iraqi hospital source said that the US invading forces killed eight civilians and wounded five others after a US missile had hit a vegetable market on the southeastern edge of the capital Baghdad.

It can be argued that the translation of politically sensitive topics becomes in itself a textual and pragmatic device that constructs a “counter-reality” in the target situation. Hodge and Kress emphasize that political texts embody relations between people rather than being carriers of abstract meanings. Therefore, translation has to be seen as an instrument of control motivated by power and solidarity, especially during a state of political instability where “truth is the first casualty” (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 160) and where in this case relations of equivalence cannot be fully sought.

This transformation in power relations rules many linguistic choices observed in the target texts. The different set of choices in the classificatory scheme whereby, for example, US actions become more hostile and troublesome through choice of syntax and vocabulary in the TT, exacerbates differences between political positions in the ST and the TT. Translation can reveal what power is being won or what “ideological themes” survive. The framework of Hodge and Kress is useful in the present study when we realize that discourse shifting is related to the power function that controls pragmatic, modality or structure choices in the text, thus showing specific text strategies towards outgroups (i.e. people who belong to a foreign ideology) or ingroups (i.e. people who belong to Us).

Simpson’s study of “language, ideology and point of view” (1993) has adopted similar lines of thought. He introduces specific “toolkits” to uncover inequality, threat or power play in media discourse. Here, Simpson proposes the analysis of specific linguistic

machinery such as transitivity, modality, lexical specificity, presuppositions, politeness and implied meanings. He explains that this linguistic toolkit can investigate “encouraged” or “suppressed” ideologies in the media, especially during a “turbulent” political period. The linguistic choices could be created, for example, through particular selections from the system of modality or transitivity.

Simpson further notes that the linguistic strategies available in a media text usually function in harmony to communicate ideological meanings and an “angle of telling”. In other words, the overall linguistic practice should make us see that there are no “value-free” texts in an ideologically motivated discourse. Therefore, discourse shifts (whether at the semantic, syntactic or pragmatic level) are actually conditioned by the power or ideological factors that control a politically sensitive text. Simpson’s description of ideologically manipulated texts will be made more visible in Chapter 6, especially when one observes how a particular media agency incriminates specific actors, victimizes other participants, distances controversial or provocative presuppositions or “focalizes” specific political beliefs.

Lee’s study on “competing” discourses (1992) suggests that in two different or competing political scenarios the analyst comes across what Lee calls “linguistic reflexes”, that is, the mediation of different linguistic features, such as the causative chain in the transitive structure and metaphorical, modal or semantic classifications. Lee provides an example on the use of “settlement” versus “invasion” referring to European incursion into Australia during the 18th century. He explains that in competing discourses, one encounters a “discourse of power” versus a “discourse of challenge” (Lee, D. 1992: 161) where the scheme of categorization becomes “problematic” and world views clash. In the present study it is observed that the ST classification might be seen as problematic to the journalistic translator because the ways of production in the ST encode different discursive experiences. As Lee explains they reflect an “alien authority” with different attitudes and classificatory scheme. As we have already argued, this alien authority should be recognized by the translator who decides to relay or challenge it in the TT.

According to Lee’s framework, the selective reference to *terrorism* is usually articulated by powerful media institutions to endorse control. In the translation of a politically sensitive report, categorization and selection become questionable issues, especially when

the translator has to deal with pre-determined stereotypes¹² like *Palestinian terrorism* and challenge them by producing counter-stereotypes. Lee further argues that a created ideological term in official discourses spreads through the media, as seen in the case of the present corpus. He comments on the use of an ideological stereotype:

“Its emergence in official discourses is simply the first step in its extension to other discourses. It appears next in institutional discourses - for example those discourses that are produced in the interaction between officials and journalists. From these institutional discourses, it spreads ultimately into general discourses”¹³ (Lee, D. 1992: 97).

This can be seen for example in the emergence of expressions like ‘*the occupying/invading US forces in Iraq*’ in the official and public discourses in the Middle East.

The concept of stereotyping and the negative connotations of the enemy have also been raised by Brekle (1989) and Hartley (1993) in their critical studies of the language of news. It is argued here that the media language gains power during a struggle or war time by waging war on the enemy with words through the creation of stereotypes and counter-stereotypes or through the negative connotations of the enemy. Brekle asserts that language, being a “verbal weapon”, can be an influential propaganda tool in critical situations. Here, propaganda strategies can be tested in the politically motivated text through the lexical choices and the collocations of two competing discourses.

As Hartley (1993) further remarks, news events become newsworthy only when they have been stereotyped and that particular groups and their actions will always be presented in terms of this stereotype. Therefore, vocabulary choices about the antagonists will make sense only when they are assigned a place on the negative (Them) side of the basic opposition. Stereotyping will be seen at work in section 6.3.3.2 via the collocational bond between items found under a sensitive topic reported by a particular media agency.

Many similar studies have been concerned with the language used in political discourse analysis. In their critical linguistic discussion of political discourse, Chilton and Schäffner (2002) relate what they call “linguistic behaviour” to “political behaviour”. They emphasize that the analyst must utilize tools such as syntax (agency, causation, nominalization), semantics (chain of metaphors in political texts) and pragmatics (speech acts and felicity conditions) to explore the strategic functions of a political text. These

¹² New naming references or overgeneralization (see sections 6.2.1 and 6.3.3.2 for analytical details).

¹³ See section 3.6 on colonizing terminology.

strategic functions are concerned with ideological notions such as “dissimulation” (control of information), “coercion”, “resistance” or “legitimization” that give the text its political and social position (see Chapter 3 on these ideological concepts).

We may conclude from the above theoretical perspective on discourse that the translator of politically sensitive news¹⁴ has to deal in general with contexts of power or cognitive models during the act of translation, which in itself is a form of discourse practice. These contextual levels that characterize a politically motivated discourse will be laid out in a procedural type of scheme in section 6.2.

However, we yet need to introduce a detailed linguistic model for the critical analysis of politically sensitive language. The linguistic tools suggested by the above critical discourse theorists, although building on common ground, are organized in different fashions. For instance, metaphors or lexical selections can be analysed under semantics or pragmatics; presuppositions or speech acts could be placed under a descriptive procedure or an interpretative procedure. Therefore, our next section will attempt to re-define and re-organize the above linguistic machinery/ behaviour/ toolkit in a more rigorous way and hence to design an innovative linguistic model for the critical analysis of discourse shifts or politically sensitive language.

4.5 Introducing the Analytical Tools of Politically Sensitive Language

This section will provide a practical methodology to investigate the above orders of discourse which are manifest in a particular form of text strategy. The set of linguistic features introduced here will comprise the salient linguistic tools which seem to operate in clusters and in a systematic manner with a cumulative ideological effect in a politically sensitive text. The selected linguistic features are not exhaustive, but are the key practical indicators that can increase our awareness of invisible bias, unequal relations of power or ingroup-outgroup relations in media reports. Moreover, the analytical framework here is qualitative¹⁵ in the sense that it gives evidence of and is sensitive to the ethical and moral issues that seem to arise in the daily work in media translation. These qualitative methods

¹⁴ Bell (1994) distinguishes hard news (immediate or core events such as reports of conflicts, politics and crimes) from soft news (such as editorials or opinion).

¹⁵ Mason, J. (2002) suggests that qualitative research is based on complex analyses, explanations, rich interpretations and generalisable data. It is concerned with debates on human, moral or political issues that can be “done with rigour, with care and with great deal of intellectual and strategic thinking” (Mason, J. 2002: 203).

may also help the analyst explain the characteristics of the data found in the corpus and suggest factors and functions regulating patterns in the use of specific semantic and pragmatic features – which are key objectives of this study.

From a structural point of view, the linguistic enquiry in this study builds on systemic-functional linguistics and pragmatics as generally suggested by the above critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Simpson, 1993; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1988; Hodge and Kress, 1993).

In brief, the systemic-functional enquiry will select Halliday's tools of transitivity, mood and modality, theme and collocational cohesion that seem to be involved in the text strategy in operation. According to Halliday (1994), transitivity is concerned with the analysis of clause as representation; mood and modality with the analysis of clause as exchange; theme and lexical cohesion with the analysis of clause as texture. Critical linguists refer to Halliday's approach when functional choices in transitivity, modality, structure or collocations are made within the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language.

Our pragmatic model, which is concerned with principles of language usage and interpretation, will focus on "speech acts" and "politeness" as suggested e.g. by Fairclough (2001) and Simpson (1993) and on "relevance" as suggested by Van Dijk (1988). Pragmatics relates basically to the interpersonal force of language and is more concerned with the study of communicated meaning as intended by the text producer and interpreted by the text receiver. The pragmatic mechanisms selected in this study will show how the text producer uses language to intrude, interact, cooperate, be polite and build relations with the audience to fulfil the assumed goals of the discourse. The pragmatic model suggested in this section also aims to show how it is important to investigate certain linguistic procedures within the overall text strategy in order to interpret a politically sensitive text as coherent and credible.

It must be noted here that our selected pragmatic features inspired by critical language analysts will be developed by relating them directly to their respective pragmatic sources (i.e. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969 & 1975; Yule, 1996a; Grice, 1975; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987; and Sperber and Wilson, 1986). For example, one might note that although Fairclough (2001) has emphasized the importance of politeness, politeness will

be negotiated only in the sense of Brown and Levinson or Leech (see section 4.5.5 below). Another example is Van Dijk’s discussion of relevance in media discourse (1988, 1998) that will be developed here in the sense of Sperber and Wilson (see section 4.5.6 below).

Table 4.1 summarizes the selected toolkit along with respective language functions in order to investigate the overall text strategy of politically motivated texts or translations:

Kind of Meaning	Selected Linguistic Feature
Ideational	Transitivity (includes agency, voice, circumstance)
Interpersonal	Mood and modality
Textual	Texture: Foregrounded themes Lexical cohesion (collocation)
Pragmatic	Speech acts Politeness Relevance (the descriptive use vs. the interpretive use)

Table 4.1 The linguistic toolkit used in the present study

4.5.1 Transitivity

Transitivity is concerned with the ideational function of language. As Halliday puts it: “meaning as representation... meaning in the sense of content... things happen, and people, or other actors, do things, or make them happen” (Halliday, 1994: 106).

Simpson (1993) remarks that in discourse analysis the transitivity model “shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience in the world around them” (Simpson, 1993: 88).

In order to analyse transitivity in a politically sensitive news report, one must draw on the structure of transitivity. In this concern, Halliday (1994) postulates **a process** that consists of three components:

- **the process** itself (verbal group);
- **participants** in the process (nominal group);
- **circumstances** associated with the process (adverbial group or prepositional phrase).

Halliday refers to different types of processes, mainly: **material** (doing), **mental** (sensing), **relational** (being), or **verbal** (saying). As the current study deals with sensitive news events, it will focus primarily on the **material process** which, according to Simpson (1993), has two types:

- **Action process** done by an animate actor (e.g. *suicide bombers* have killed scores of Israelis).
- **Event process** done by an inanimate actor (e.g. *tanks* rolled into the towns of Arabe, Hashmiyah and al-Yamoun...).

Material processes “processes of doing” are concerned with actions. They have **two participant roles**:

- **The actor**: the “logical subject” or “the one that does the deed” (Halliday, 1994: 109) being an obligatory participant (e.g. *Israeli troops who* returned fire).
- **The goal**: a second participant (optional) that “undergoes” the process or is affected by it (e.g. Palestinian gunmen have shot dead *seven Israelis*).

Halliday further explains that “the concept of extension is in fact the one that is embodied in the classical terminology of ‘**transitive**’ and ‘**intransitive**’, from which the term transitivity is derived” (Halliday, 1994: 110). In this case, the verb *returned* above is intransitive and the verb *shot dead* is transitive. In the latter case we may ask: what did the Palestinian gunmen do *to the Israelis*, who caused the shooting, or who is the other entity affected by the shooting (e.g. the seven Israelis)? This brings us to the following issue of transitivity and voice.

Transitivity and Voice:

When an action is represented, it comes basically in two forms reflecting cause and effect in the experiential function:

- **Active** (e.g. Israeli soldiers killed three Palestinians overnight).
- **Passive** (e.g. a member of an armed faction ...was also killed by Israeli troops).

Halliday (1994) suggests the following system of voice:

- **Middle:** with no agency (e.g. The Gaza strip is already walled off).
- **Effective:** with agency that is **active** and foregrounded (e.g. *Occupying forces* hanged two Palestinians); or with delayed and **passive agency** (e.g. a member of an armed faction ...was also killed *by Israeli troops*).

Critical discourse analysts (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Simpson, 1993; Hodge and Kress, 1993) add to this system cases of “nominalization”, that is to say, the use of a noun for an action to background agency, such as *the shootings* or *the building of the fence*.

The third component in the transitivity structure is the **circumstantial element** which as a process “serves as an expansion of something else”. Circumstantial elements “refer to the location of an event in time or space, its manner, or its cause” (Halliday, 1994: 150-151). The present study is concerned with the circumstantial element of cause or reason, for it will reflect the cognitive aspect of context that renders a politically sensitive event common-sensical and credible. Halliday further discusses the **expansion** relations between clauses where a secondary clause can either **elaborate**, **extend** or **enhance** the primary clause with a circumstantial feature (e.g. the army said it had arrested 40 Palestinians *for what it called “terrorist activities”*). Halliday emphasizes that the distribution of the information in the transitivity system leads to special effects or results. In this case, causes can be encoded in the form of agency or in the circumstantial component associated with the process.

The aim of transitivity analysis in section 6.3.1 is to help to analyse the experiential or ideational function of the ST and TT, in other words, how political reality is variously represented in Reuters, AFP or Al-Manar. Through selections from the system of transitivity we can analyse who is causing what to whom; what agents are actively incriminated; who are the victims or affected participants; what is the main type of process in a sensitive news report; what conditional relations exist between clauses (i.e. what causes are deleted and what facts are conditionally related in the circumstantial element to reflect cognitive bias); and what content or reason is legitimized by the media agency in a process that creates a political stance and preferred readership.

4.5.2 Mood and Modality

By mood and modality, Halliday refers to the interpersonal function of language, that is, meaning as exchange or as an interactive event.

In the **mood** system one for example either “gives” information or “demands” something from the listener.

“Mood expresses the speech function... giving or demanding information or goods-&-services, which determines the four basic speech functions of statement, question, offer and command” (Halliday, 1994: 363). Halliday further states that the mood element could either be a “**proposition**” (statement or question) or a “**proposal**” (offer or command). In the current study we have to see mood expressing the interpersonal force by examining the event functioning either as a set of statements (i.e. asserted through declarative propositions) or as moving into instructional modes, for instance, *what Arafat has to do in order to meet with Powell* in a particular media text that expresses particular relations of power.

In propositions, information could be stated, declared, accepted, denied or doubted in the ST/TT, with varying degrees between “it is so; it isn’t so”. In proposals, meaning could be a command or an offer with varying degrees between “do it; don’t do it”, (e.g. the Americans *urged* Arafat in the ST vs. the Americans *asked* Arafat in the TT) in order to reflect the judgment of the text producer. This should bring us to the system of modality.

In the system of **modality** the following can be considered:

- 1- Propositions (statements of facts) can be **modalized** when they indicate degrees of probability (certainly, probably, possibly) or degrees of usuality (always, usually, sometimes), e.g. Sharon refrained from the *usual* swift military strike.
- 2- Proposals (commands or obligations) can be **modulated** when they become imperative, either in the varying forms of obligation (required, supposed, allowed) or inclination (determined, keen, willing), i.e. may do or must do. As Halliday explains “Modality represents the speaker’s angle, either on the validity of the assertion or on the rights and wrongs of the proposal” (Halliday, 1994: 362).

In a similar vein, Simpson (1993) refers to four modal systems (i.e. the attitudinal features of language):

- **Epistemic** and **perception** modality (inter-related modal systems reflecting knowledge, belief, cognition and perception);
- **deontic** and **boulomaic** modality (inter-related modal systems reflecting obligation, duty, commitment and desire)

For instance we may observe the following system of modality:

Reuters B (Appendix A):

Prime Minister A. Sharon refrained from *the kind of* swift military strikes that have followed *other major* attacks in a Palestinian revolt.

vs. Reuters Arabic:

امتنع رئيس الوزراء الاسرائيلي عن توجيه ضربة عسكرية سريعة كما هي العادة عقب أي هجوم انتحاري

BT:

The Israeli Prime Minister refrained from the swift military strikes that *usually* follow *any* suicide attack.

This example demonstrates that a sentence can carry desire and obligation on the part of Sharon along with different epistemic representation (i.e. usuality) being modalized in the TT.

The purpose of analysis in section 6.3.2 is to reflect the ideological development of texts through these expressions of modality. In this respect we may refer to the following different linguistic expressions of modality that may be used to investigate text strategy (in the sense of Halliday, 1994; Simpson, 1993; Fairclough, 1995a; Fowler, 1991):

- Modal verbs or auxiliaries referring to the judgment of the speaker (e.g. *must, will, can, may, could, should*);
- Mood adjuncts: “these are so called because they are most closely associated with the meanings constructed in the mood system: those of polarity, modality, temporality, and mood” (Halliday, 1994: 82). According to Halliday, an adjunct is realized by a prepositional phrase or an adverbial group. For example: “he can’t *usually* hear on the telephone” (ibid: 83).
- The use of perception modalities (Simpson, 1993), i.e. human perceptions which imply the presence of the text producer’s subjectivity behind the media report such as (*the so-called* Green Line).

- Quantifiers (Fairclough, 1995a) (e.g. Palestinian bombers killed *scores of Israelis*).

The aim of mood and modality analysis in Chapter 6 is to help us see how the translator interacts with and intrudes on the event itself by his/her attitudinal use of modalized statements or modulated obligations. This will enable us to assess the particular degree of commitment to the truth or security of propositions, claims or what Hodge and Kress (1988) call “counter-claims” made by participants towards the knowledge constructed in a political text. It will also enable us to assess the different relations of power that control the text producer’s attitude towards the event as a whole. As Fowler notes on modality, it “is the grammar of explicit comment, the means by which people express their degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions they utter, and their views on the desirability or otherwise of the states of affairs referred to” (Fowler, 1996: 166-167).

4.5.3 Texture

Here, Halliday makes reference to the textual metafunction¹⁶ of language that creates relevance to context. Sections 4.2.2, 4.3, 4.4 above have shown how the discourse analysts refer us to the thematic structuring and lexical selection in a political discourse. Thematic structuring or foregrounding and lexical classification are another skilful linguistic delivery that can foreground commonsensical meanings of a particular society or institution. In other words, vocabulary choices (collocations, synonyms, reference chains that have a particular naming system, diminutives and stereotypes), theme selection, framing and sequencing of propositions are crucial tools that can legitimate inequality, power abuse, bias and group prejudices. These tools can equally influence text interpretation and consumption by the reader.

This section will attempt to introduce a workable methodology for the analysis of lexical and thematic selections as important textual devices in the descriptive procedure of critical discourse analysis. Halliday’s (1994) model will be employed for the purpose of analysing thematic foregrounding as well as classification schemes of vocabulary in politically sensitive texts.

¹⁶ The textual function is an “enabling function” of both the ideational and interpersonal functions. Words and themes must be capable of creating and organizing relevant discourse.

According to Halliday, selection in the textual system is made through thematic organization and cohesive patterns.

In a news report, the “**creation of texture**” should be both “structural” and “cohesive”:

(A) **structural**

- 1 thematic structure: Theme and Rheme
- 2 information structure and focus: Given and New

(B) **cohesive**

- 1 reference
- 2 ellipsis and substitution
- 3 conjunction
- 4 lexical cohesion (Halliday, 1994: 334).

As the current study cannot be exhaustive, two salient features will be selected: “foregrounded themes” and “lexical cohesion” within the creation of political news texture. These two tools, based on a Hallidayan framework, will contribute to the structural and textual analysis of discourses of power or bias in a news report (see section 6.3.3).

4.5.3.1 Foregrounded Themes

According to Halliday, “Clause as message” consists of **Theme** and **Rheme**:

“The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. The remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed, is called in the Prague school terminology the Rheme” (Halliday, 1994: 37).

e.g. *Arafat* (Theme) # *condemned Jerusalem bombing* (Rheme).

The corpus of the present study will investigate the dominant themes in every text as well as the foregrounded themes within the thematic structure of a ST/TT. According to Halliday, a foregrounded theme could be one of the following:

- Marked theme: “A Theme that is something other than the Subject, in a declarative clause” (Halliday, 1994: 44) for a specific reason. For instance, *in a new attempt to seize more Palestinian lands* (Theme) # *Israel* (Subject) will start building what it calls a massive security fence (Rheme).

- Predicated theme: cleft sentence (i.e. the form *it+ be+ ...*) to foreground particular information in a thematic structure in order to make it explicit, e.g. *it was the terrorist # who killed the civilians*.

The primary aim of this tool is to characterize the marked themes as well as the winning themes which set the scene from a specific point of departure in a politically sensitive news report. If the text has political implications, information can take a marked focus in the clause. That is to say, we can tell where the text is going within a thematic line, but by examining the foregrounded or marked themes we can gain more insights into the bias or subjectivity that typify a formal report by a news agency. This will enable us to establish the kind of preferences in style followed by the media agencies in order to make their reports newsworthy, credible and saleable.

As noted in section 4.3, structure can also be seen in the conditional relationships (cause and effect) between clauses that equally influence our coherence of discourse. At this point *expansion* (see 4.5.1) will effectively support our analysis of thematic structuring when the overall hierarchical organization of sensitive texts is investigated. Following Halliday's lines, Van Dijk (1988) has developed a framework for analysing the structure of news discourse at two levels: "macro" and "micro" structures. The former is concerned with the overall organization of thematic structure or content of a news text. The micro-structure is concerned with local relations of causality and expansion between propositions. Expansion of clauses is termed by Van Dijk "functional coherence".

In the critical discourse analysis scheme of sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.3.1, we have to see how the translator unconsciously contributes to the thematizing of active agents in a political process, or to the foregrounding or backgrounding of political subjectivity through what Fairclough (1995a) calls "global text structure", that is, information positioning and structuring in media texts that leads to special effects.

4.5.3.2 Lexical Cohesion and Collocation

Within the fabric of a politically sensitive news text, lexical cohesion¹⁷ is another component that characterizes the writer's textual strategy. As Halliday (1994) illustrates:

¹⁷ Cohesion "refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 4).

“continuity may be established in a text by the choice of words. This may take the form of word repetition; or the choice of a word that is related in some way to a previous one - either semantically, such that the two are in the broadest sense synonymous, or collocationally, such that the two have a more than ordinary tendency to co-occur. Lexical cohesion may be maintained over long passages by the presence of keywords, words having special significance for the meaning of the particular text” (Halliday, 1994: 310).

The current study is mainly concerned with collocation cohesion that is the “lexical organization” of a text. Halliday and Hasan (1976) identify collocation between lexical items in terms of ‘some recognizable semantic relation to one another’ (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 285). The member set found for instance in Al-Manar texts, e.g. *the Zionists, occupying forces, occupation entity* have “a very marked cohesive effect deriving from the occurrence in proximity with each other” (ibid: 285). This effect can extend to longer cohesive chains which are established throughout the fabric of a political news report. Examples of chains of collocation cohesion:

Zionists... enemy forces; killed... massacred... demolished (Al-Manar texts, Appendix A). These lexical patterns tend to occur in similar environments by Al-Manar, thus reflecting their own common sense and knowledge system.

Ideologically based collocations can also be tested within “chain complexes”. Halliday (1994) and Martin (2001) note that in a transitivity structure, a referential chain of participants (e.g. *Palestinian gunmen... attackers... militants*) interacts with a process chain of (e.g. *ambushed... killing... wounding... throwing grenades*) and a goal chain (e.g. *Jewish settlers... 12 people*) to give a text its own coherence. This part of the analysis seeks to identify the construal of coherence in a politically sensitive text by measuring the lexical chains against one another.

Lexical choices in the causal structure will connote specific values in the ST/TT. That is to say, the categorization of participants and their actions in the ST vs. those in the TT, which is carried out through different naming systems (derogatory lexical style, positive evaluation, or use of attributes), overlexicalization (profusion of terms) vs. underlexicalization (lack of a term), and rewording, is an integral part of the reproduction of ideology and belief systems in the media outlets. The problem in translation arises from the different lexical classification system found in the ST and the force of their collocations. These collocations reflect different meaning systems that collide during the process of translation, especially when there is a political struggle over language. Diagramming the collocation devices of Israelis vs. those of Palestinians in the corpus is

another linguistic strategy that makes visible the discriminating practice of a media institution (see section 6.3.3.2).

At this stage, we may observe that the semantic, syntactic and structural aspects of the text are not sufficient tools in text analysis, for there are other invisible forces in the text that are communicated rather than actually seen at the semantic or syntactic levels. As Fairclough (2001) and Hatim and Mason (1990) critically note, the analyst has to examine the communicative force, the presuppositions or the kinds of action performed by the text producers. The following sections will, therefore, attempt to define the most salient pragmatic tools that can unravel the intentions behind a politically motivated text.

4.5.4 Speech Acts

In the pragmatic-oriented approach to analysing language, language philosophers (e.g. Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) have added a new dimension to meaning, which is “action”. Utterances must be investigated as performing a social action according to the text producer’s intention which is expected to be recognized by the audience within a specific speech event.

In a politically sensitive report, the reporter or translator activates a particular discourse by the use of particular verbs that signify values or forces. For example, in a discourse of resistance to western political discourses, Al-Manar translators can accuse their enemy, alarm the audience, arouse sympathies towards Palestinian victims, warn or report with argumentative representations.

In general, speech acts could be threats, warnings, promises or apologies. Among many attempts to classify speech acts, Searle (1969) distinguishes the following nucleus set:

- **Assertive verbs or representatives:** statements of events, facts, descriptions.
- **Declaratives:** declaring war or proclaiming a constitution.
- **Expressives:** expressing states of joy, sorrow, or exaggeration.
- **Directives:** commands, requests or demands.
- **Commissives:** expressing the intention of speaker, e.g. promise or threat.

In studying political discourse analysis, the analyst has to consider the conditions that make certain speech acts effective in either the ST or the TT. These appropriate conditions are called “**felicity conditions**”. For instance, Al-Manar’s discourse includes complex conditions such as the power of this Islamic institution, the style of Al-Manar’s language which is also recognized and made sensible by their own audience. These conditions, if felicitous, will make Al-Manar’s speech acts appropriate and recognized as ideologically intended for their own audiences. That is, their performance will be based on their felicitousness, not their truth-value.

Speech acts consist of three types of acts:

- **Locutionary act**: a meaningful linguistic utterance.
- **Illocutionary act**: the speaker’s communicative force.
- **Perlocutionary act**: the effect of an utterance on the audience.

Furthermore, speech acts could be direct or indirect. As Yule (1996a) puts it: “whenever there is a direct relationship between a structure and a function, we have a **direct speech act**. Whenever there is an indirect relationship between a structure and a function, we have an **indirect speech act**.” (Yule, 1996a: PP 54-55). Thus, a ‘declarative’ like ‘*land grabbing*’, as we saw in Al-Manar’s news representation that is equally used by Al-Manar to ‘warn’ and ‘alert’ Arabs of more land seizure by Israel, is a case of an indirect speech act. In other words, the literal meaning of a representative alone does not convey the full illocutionary force. This indirect force is considered felicitous to the TT audience with a strong perlocutionary effect when it is recognized by them as ideologically intended.

Under speech act theory, cooperation between the ST/TT producer and his/her intended audience has to be examined, especially when implicit meanings are conveyed. Here, it is essential to consider Grice’s (1975) theory of meaning in this pragmatic investigation of text strategy. According to Grice, participants identify common goals and cooperate in conversations as required by the purpose of the conversation. Four maxims or sub-principles express a general **Cooperative Principle** (CP). The CP and its maxims are summarized as follows:

- The Cooperative Principle: make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

- The maxim of quantity: make your contribution as informative as required - neither more nor less than is required.
- The maxim of quality: your contribution must be true and not spurious.
- The maxim of relevance: be relevant.
- The maxim of manner: be clear, reasonable.

What has to be considered in the current study is how the CP governs relations between the text producer, commissioner and target recipients to make a particular ideological discourse relevant and as being true description of a state of affairs as we shall explore in sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.5.

Another area of relevance addressed in this study is Leech's (1983) conception of speech acts. Leech suggests that speech-act verbs could be “**conditional**” vs. “**unconditional**” as follows:

- Conditional verbs give more choice to the recipient, e.g. the US *asked* Arafat.
- Unconditional verbs assume that the recipient will comply unconditionally (i.e. one participant is in full authority and intends uptake by the less powerful to be taken for granted), e.g. the US *urged/pressed* Arafat.

Leech usefully makes reference to what he terms “the cost-benefit scale” concept. That is, some verbs could be costly or even impolite for the TT audience. Moreover, Leech distinguishes between two important speech act verbs that come under Searle's assertive category above:

- informative: to announce or report, e.g. x *said/confirmed*;
- argumentative: “express the relation between the current truth claim and other truth claims made by S or H”¹⁸ (Leech, 1983: 224), e.g. x *claimed/alleged*.

In general, the concept of speech acts should inform our analysis later on by investigating:

- the type of speech acts that operate in a politically sensitive report;
- the implied meanings conveyed by text producers;
- the way ideological control impinges on cooperation between the text producer and his/her intended audience;
- the unconditionality of verbs that express unequal power relations;

¹⁸ S symbolizes speaker, and H symbolizes addressee (Leech 1983).

- the type of assertives used in reporting ingroups vs. outgroups in a politically sensitive news report (i.e. informative or argumentative).

4.5.5 Politeness

Politeness is another pragmatic tool utilized by critical discourse analysts to explore the multi-faceted activity of doing things with political texts. Critical discourse analysts usually refer in this concern to Brown and Levinson's classic work on politeness (1987).

In studying politically sensitive discourse, two concepts of politeness are distinguished in our study: politeness in the sense in which it is used by Brown and Levinson (1987), which negotiates face wants in a political situation; and politeness as a principle needed to maximize benefits, agreement and sympathy with a new audience, as studied by Leech (1983).

Brown and Levinson (1987) assume that a model person (MP) has a “**face**” or “public self-image” that has two aspects:

“**negative face**: the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others.

positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 62).

In political discourse interaction, the text producer attempts to maintain face wants through cooperation with his/her own audience. A news report needs to be approved of as being formal, informative and credible; but this entails the commitment of a “**face threatening act**” (FTA), e.g. to report speech acts of killing. In other words, the need to balance face needs in AFP/ Reuters derives from the fact that acts of communication could inherently be imposing or “face threatening” to H's negative face or H's positive face, especially when the public self- image of outgroups is in question. For instance, S (e.g. U.S. administration) ordering H (e.g. Arafat) to do or not to do something threatens the negative face of H who needs a freedom of action. On the other hand, S (e.g. U.S. administration) expressing enmity towards H (e.g. suicide bombers), or S (e.g. reporter) raising “divisive/ taboo topics” on politics, religion or race, or S (e.g. reporter) tarnishing H's image (e.g. a leader or an organization) is an act that threatens the positive face of H (e.g. outgroup), as H normally needs acceptance, approval by others and connection.

Moreover, an FTA can threaten both the negative and the positive face of H, such as expressions of violent emotions. But in order to “**save face**” or “redress” the situation, as seen for example on the part of the reporter or translator (via shifts), two strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson are distinguished:

- **Negative politeness:** showing deference and concern towards the other (e.g. Arafat’s public face), minimizing an imposition on x, or even hedging that backgrounds the negative acts of x.
- **Positive politeness:** showing solidarity and common goals towards the other, e.g. showing solidarity with the Arab audience by adding more details about Arab victims.

The following are the possible strategies for doing FTAs as stated by Brown and Levinson:

- Not to commit the FTA at all.
- To commit the FTA off record (i.e. giving hints, being indirect).
- To commit the FTA baldly on record without redress (i.e. directly where S has power and control over H).
- To commit the FTA on record with either negative or positive face redress.

The phenomenon of shifting results from the translator’s assessment of the “seriousness” of an FTA in the ST. As Brown and Levinson explain, the assessment of the danger of an FTA is based on the following sociological variables:

The social distance (D) between S and H; the relative power (P) of S and H; and the absolute ranking (R) of the various impositions in the given culture. Thus, the choice of a politeness strategy that is encoded in the TT linguistic act will rely on the “weightiness” of the face wants involved, as determined by the combined assessment of the above three variables. If the ST seems to have a greater distance or is imposing unequal relations of power, one can expect more redressive acts by the translator to save the face wants of the ideology in question.

Our text analysis in Chapter 6 will show how a ST/TT can go bald on record to serve the preferred readership or a dominant power. It will also show how the translator uses redressive action (i.e. give face to Arab addressees) in order for example to save Arafat’s negative face. This could be actualized through expressions of deference in Arabic or

through modulating the American orders in the mood system. Other strategies will be deleting offensive address terms or expressions of enmity towards the Arabs or the addition of ingroup-markers of closer solidarity. Conversely, the translator can go bald on record by using his/her institutional stereotypes, such as naming practices against outgroups. The “**payoff**” will be showing solidarity and what is conceived as honesty with the target audience. Here, the newly created stereotypes in the TT do not constitute an FTA to the Arabs (e.g. the use of *Zionists* in Al-Manar), but on the contrary are considered “efficient”.

Another study conducted by Leech (1983) can enrich our understanding of politeness. Leech notes “that politeness concerns a relationship between two participants whom we may call self and other” (Leech, 1983: 131). He explains that the Politeness Principle (PP) is complementary to the Cooperative Principle¹⁹ (CP), especially when one of the latter’s maxims is broken during communication. The PP is more regulative and enhances social equilibrium if for instance the maxim of quality is violated. According to Leech, the PP works through the following maxims (Leech, 1983: 132):

- Tact Maxim: minimize cost to other, maximize benefit to other.
- Generosity Maxim: minimize benefit to self, maximize cost to self.
- Approbation Maxim: minimize dispraise of other, maximize praise of other.
- Modesty Maxim: minimize praise of self, maximize dispraise of self.
- Agreement Maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other, maximize agreement between self and other.
- Sympathy Maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other, maximize sympathy between self and other.

In the current study, these maxims will be seen at work when applied to ingroup members who tend to maximize benefit to one another and to enhance positive self-presentation in a political report. It will be also observed that the ST and the TT seem to have what Leech calls “conflictive illocutions” with non-bridgeable politeness and different goals. As Leech further notes, different scales have to be examined under the Politeness Principle, such as:

¹⁹ Grice’s maxims cannot be universal in the ideological sense - what is of quality to the ST recipient or ingroups could be impolite to the TT recipient or outgroups.

- cost and benefit to S;
- cost and benefit to H;
- degrees of distance reflecting power and authority;
- solidarity factor.

The PP, being a pragmatic strategy used in text analysis, will rely on different linguistic constructions such as the use of specific illocutionary verbs, collocations, naming strategies and the rhetoric of victim portrayal. This line of inquiry will be probed at both contextual and textual levels (sections 6.2.5 and 6.3.4).

4.5.6 Relevance (The Descriptive Use vs. The Interpretive Use)

Critical language analysts (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Simpson, 1993; Van Dijk, 1988) have also added “presuppositions”²⁰ to analyse the pragmatic properties or features of texts. Fairclough (2001) notes that presuppositions are essential for the interpretation of texts, for they appeal to background knowledge, but “can also have ideological functions, when what they assume has the character of common sense in the service of power” (Fairclough, 2001: 128). An example is an expression like ‘*the suicide bombers*’ which presupposes in international media that there is a threat to the innocent from acts of terrorism. Yule (1996a) refers us to different types of presupposition that relate to speakers, e.g. existential presupposition which is assumed to be present in any definite noun phrase. For instance, ‘the Gaza strip is already walled off, reducing *the threat* to Israel... eventually *the security fence* will stretch 220 miles along the Green Line’ (AFP A, Appendix A). Here S is assumed to be committed to the existence of the security of Israel or threat coming from the Palestinians.

Van Dijk (1988, 1998) further notes that presuppositions are not the only pragmatic elements that give the news event its value to reach intended interpretations. He argues that commonsensical presuppositions might be challenged by other readers. In this respect he introduces “relevance” as another important pragmatic element that can equally influence the interpretations of a news event as intended by the news media. Although Van Dijk does not account for relevance in a linguistic way, he nevertheless emphasizes

²⁰ “assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept without challenge” (Brown and Yule 1983: 29).

its importance in constraining news production by releasing what is relevant for the reader in order to serve the interests of those in power.

A useful method to account for relevance as a linguistic device that can detect contested presuppositions between the ST and the TT can be best addressed in this study within Sperber and Wilson's theory. Sperber and Wilson (1986) note that the audience "will pay attention to a phenomenon only if it seems relevant to them" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 156). Relevance to them is defined in terms of "**contextual effect**" and "**processing effort**". In the case of shifts it may be noticed that the new ideological assumptions have to be sufficiently relevant for the Arab audience to make a news report optimally beneficial with a minimal processing effort. In other words, in the translation of a politically sensitive report, the degree of success in achieving relevance to Arab readership is determined by relaying the most relevant information to the new cognitive environment (see section 6.2.4). This process might require shifting especially, when the ST becomes "cost sensitive" if its presupposition pools²¹ put the Arab audience through unnecessary processing effort. That is, the target audience needs to interpret a news report with adequate contextual effects and with minimal cost to their own ideological beliefs.

By investigating the style of the ST/TT, especially in terms of thematic structuring, lexical categorization, information backgrounding and verbs of reporting, the analyst should be able to gather information about what is actually relevant to those in control of the social system and to their respective audience. As Sperber and Wilson put it, "stylistic differences are just differences in the way relevance is achieved" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 224). However in order to utilize relevance in the current framework of analysis as a "microscope" that can disclose different ideological presuppositions or belief systems, we suggest that the following dimensions of language use (as suggested by Sperber and Wilson, 1986) be considered within a pragmatic model of text analysis:

- **The Descriptive** dimension of language use: when a mental representation "is entertained as a description of the state of affairs of which it is thought to be true" (Gutt, 2000: 36). For instance, describing a desirable state of affairs by using expressions like '*land grabbing*' in Al-Manar's news representations to be a true thought in the TT instead of '*building a security fence*'.

²¹ "information constituted from general knowledge, from the situative context of the discourse, and from the completed part of the discourse itself" (Brown and Yule, 1983: 79).

- **The Interpretive** dimension of language use when “our mind can entertain a mental representation or thought not in virtue of its being true of some state of affairs, but in virtue of its interpretive resemblance to some other representation” (Gutt, 2000: 39). For instance, representation by resembling a ST statement or narration of events (i.e. bombing, stating what officials said) without commitment to ST truth as a descriptive statement. In other words, the TT resembles the content of a ST where the latter has its own truth claims and representations.

The descriptive and interpretive tools are pragmatic in nature and the purpose of utilizing them in the current study is two-fold:

- to investigate whether discourse shifting in the translation of politically sensitive reports achieves interpretive or descriptive relations with the ST;
- to investigate the type of relevance the text producer achieves when ingroup or outgroup quotations have to be represented in a politically sensitive text. Our special case study in section 6.3.5 will focus on this type of relevance by examining direct quotations vs. indirect quotations. Bell’s (1991) conceptions of neutral speech verbs and evaluative speech verbs will be integrated in our study of relevance.

It must be noted here that relevance, although addressed at length by Gutt (2000), will not be analysed within his conception of translation and relevance (c.f. section 5.3.4.2). Rather, our analysis of relevance will describe the actual pragmatic use made by the text producer in a politically sensitive situation - whether descriptive or interpretive - to articulate the ideological assumptions of the media agency.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

Our discourse study in this chapter has shown that the issues of power relations, bias and cognition are closely connected with language use or text strategy and that a critical language analysis should expose the unequal power relations, the falsifying common sense or mental models that lie beneath a politically sensitive discourse. This chapter has also introduced a practical model for the linguistic descriptions of discourse shifts or politically sensitive signs in the media texts. Our suggested model has been rigorously organized to attend to many of the semantic, textual, structural and pragmatic choices that work inter-dependently in each text and for each media source. The hypothesis concluded

in this chapter is that shifts in power relations or cognitive models chart shifts in the practice of translation. Therefore, it was suggested that the orders of power, cognition along with their text strategies seen via semantic, syntactic or pragmatic shifts should be explained and described in the critical analysis of any politically motivated text. Particular attention will be paid to the analysis part (including description, interpretation and explanation) in Chapter 6.

Furthermore, it was noted that discourse shifts (especially within a Foucauldian framework) chart specific ethical and moral issues in a particular political period in history. As translation seems to be an instrument that can transform power relations or challenge a hegemonic discourse, it is suggested that discourse studies should not ignore the phenomenon of discourse shifts. Rather, discourse-oriented studies should chart it within the machinery of translation studies, describe it, give it the linguistic evidence and consider it in contemporary discussions of translation theories in order to gain more insights into the orders of a strategic discourse along with its linguistic tools that need to be considered in comparative translation studies.

Here, one might ask: what can translation theory offer when ethical or ideological issues arise in media translation? Having concluded that the ST/TT can operate within their own discursive limits towards a controversial political event, one might also ask whether the prescriptive models in translation are needed to put constraints on the intervention of the translator. In order to attend to all these constraints to reach generalisable findings, we need to discuss the role of translation studies in addressing political sensitivity in translation. This important framework of analysis will be the discussion of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MODERN TRANSLATION THEORIES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TEXTS

5.1 Introductory Remarks

This chapter endeavours to develop a theoretical framework that can offer a critical assessment of how main translation theories might contribute to the ongoing discussion of politically sensitive translations and the critical factors that constrain them.

Relatively little attention has been paid by translation scholars to the ethical and/or functional aspect of shifting in politically sensitive discourse. Some relevant articles have been published by Aal (1994) on the journalistic translator's awareness of protecting the Arab media against negative foreign discourses; by Baker (1997) and Schäffner (1997, 2003) on translating politically sensitive texts and the need to investigate their constraints, the translator's responsibility, and the functional concept of the TT in its target situation. In this concern, this chapter will offer a complex theoretical frame of reference to examine how the shifted and legitimized productions one can see in the translations of Reuters Arabic, Al-Manar or other media outlets actually relate to their source texts. Our frame of reference aims to investigate the actual constraints that operate around the translation process of politically sensitive texts, and to identify and explain the translation strategy which media translators seem to consistently use when foreign hegemonic discourses become a threat in the target situation. This should also enable us to emphasize those important translation theories needed in current research on ideology, cognition and translation.

To this end, the investigation will build on two perspectives: investigating politically sensitive translation from a prescriptive/normative perspective which is basically source-oriented; and a target-oriented perspective to describe what actually happens in the target situation. Different theories and insights from modern translation studies will therefore be adopted to identify the critical factors surrounding the translations of politically motivated texts. Accordingly, section 5.2 will critically assess the contribution of source-oriented approaches to the translation of ideologically or politically motivated discourse. Sub-section 5.2.1 examines the contribution of pre-discourse approaches to translation, whereas, sub-section 5.2.2 examines the contribution of discourse-oriented approaches to

translation studies. In section 5.3 an innovative approach is developed through which it is possible to describe the actual shifts in translation according to insights from target-oriented, postcolonial and cognitive studies in translation. This part should also enable us to define the actual translation strategy and use one encounters via discourse shifts in translation. Finally, section 5.4 will draw important conclusions regarding the strengths and limitations of the contemporary translation studies adopted in this chapter, especially when the issue of politically sensitive texts is being raised by political institutions, as explained in Chapter 1 and section 3.6.

5.2 The Contribution of Prescriptive/ Normative Approaches to the Study of Shifts in Ideologically Motivated Discourses

The ancient debate over *word-for-word* and *sense-for-sense* translation discussed by St Jerome (fourth century CE) about his translation of the bible from Greek into Latin has continued to influence translation theory, even during the 20th century (see Munday, 2001). However, during the second half of the 20th century modern translation scholars have redefined the literal vs. free approach by providing an expanded range of approaches and technical definitions, such as *equivalence* and *function*²², reflecting new developments in the field. Modern theoretical concepts have been determined by various disciplines: comparative linguistics, literary criticism, cultural and social theories, the communication of power and ideological relations or philosophical speculation challenging fundamental notions prevalent in translation theories.

Many approaches in modern translation theory in the West have been generally prescriptive, i.e. they assume that the definition of a target text's meaning in form or in content is determined by the source or the original text. Prescriptive approaches usually promote a specific strategy or method projecting an idealized opinion of what translation ought to be, regardless of the actual state of affairs determined empirically in the target situation. The earlier approaches, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, see the foreign text as a fairly static object that can be reduced to lexical, grammatical, syntactic, or semantic analysis to create either linguistic equivalence or cultural approximation. Later developments draw attention to pragmatic, communicative and functional equivalence,

²² Equivalence is concerned with accuracy, correspondence, fidelity or adequacy connecting to the foreign text. That is, creating equivalent aesthetic experience, structure, meaning or effect by retaining the power of the original text, whereas, function is mainly concerned with the intended function of the target text, that is, to produce a specific response in the target language and culture.

but the methodology of translation used in translator training courses remains prescriptive and source-oriented. However, it can be argued, that later approaches which advocate critical translation studies may be viewed here as the “normative” approaches to translation²³. This is because normative approaches set out those functional linguistic, cultural, pragmatic and/or communicative properties of the ST that should be heeded in translation or normally examined during comparison of source and target texts so as to establish the degree of equivalence between them.

5.2.1 The Contribution of Pre-Discourse Approaches

5.2.1.1 Formal Equivalence (Catford)

In an original attempt that incorporates linguistics into the study of translation, Catford (1965, 2000) discusses equivalence in terms of “formal correspondence” which adheres closely to the linguistic form of the ST. A formal correspondent is “any TL category (unit, class, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the same place in the economy of the TL as the given SL category occupies in the SL” (Catford, 1965: 27).

According to Catford, “shifts” mean deviations or “departures from formal correspondence”. Here, he distinguishes between “level shifts” and “category shifts” that seem to establish static comparisons at lower linguistic levels. That is, the translator can seek equivalence through shifts from grammar to lexis, shifts in the grammatical structure, syntax, morphemes or language systems. For example, we may consider the following grammatical and structural shifts in Al-Manar as follows:

AFPA (Appendix A):

The case of Barta’a, *a small Arab village of 5000 residents near Kfar Salem*, is a case in point.

TT:

وتمثل حالة قرية برطعة القريبة من كفر سالم مثالا حيا على سياسة القضم، حيث يمر في وسط هذه القرية التي يبلغ عدد سكانها 5 الاف نسمة...

BT: The case of the village of Barta’a near Kfar Salem is a live example of this policy of land grabbing. *The Green Line cuts this village of the 5000 residents down the middle...*

²³ See Bell (1991) or Hermans (1999) on normative or prescriptive vs. descriptive approaches to translation.

Here, we may observe that the translator's linguistic competence will make him/her opt to place *the 5000 residents* in a different clause merely for structural reasons. Therefore, it can be argued that this translation parameter relies on surface aspects to replace, for example, an adjective by an adjective or an adjective by an adverbial phrase in order to replace each SL item with the suitable lexical or grammatical equivalent in the TT. However, this does not seem to pose a problem for the professional translator who works for a popular media agency. One still needs to consider other constraints that cause major grammatical or lexical shifts besides the translator's command of linguistic competence. For instance, the above shift from *a case in point* into *a live example of this policy of land grabbing* is an important shift in the "economy" of the TL that can only be explained according to this approach as a case of linguistic error.

Nevertheless, Catford's contribution draws attention to the linguistics-oriented approach needed in the analysis of translation operations and to the discussion of the notion of equivalence and its constraints in translation studies. Furthermore, literal translation or the formal equivalence method can be rendered useful in the current study when applied to back translations throughout this thesis, but only to allow access to the ideological position of the target texts and to understand the hegemonic scenes of the target language.

5.2.1.2 Dynamic Equivalence (Nida)

A more progressive approach inspired by Nida on bible translating (1964, 2000) draws attention to the cultural differences or cultural constraints of the ST/TT that make the translator opt for "equivalent effect" at the expense of language structure. Basically, Nida distinguishes between two types of equivalence:

- **"Formal equivalence"** which is concerned with the message "in both form and content" whereby the translator reproduces a literal and meaningful translation of the source text. A familiar type here is "gloss translation" which adheres to the ST grammar, words and structure in order to understand the language and culture of the original.
- **"Dynamic equivalence"** aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture" (Nida, 2000: 129). Nida's dynamic equivalence approach has become influential for many scholars as it directs attention to the receptor in terms of

producing a response comparable to the one produced by the original in its own culture. It predicts the pragmatic elements of meaning in terms of reflecting the ST content and effect in addition to the “functional” aspect of the message - a notion taken much further by German theoreticians in the 1970s and 1980s.

Nida’s prescriptive model (i.e. the setting up of rules consisting of do’s and don’ts) licenses shifting basically in terms of language structure to solicit the meaning or the effect of the original. It remains static in that it instructs translators to build on contrastive grammar, semantic/stylistic re-structuring or transformational linguistics in order to remain faithful to the meaning and effect of the source culture text. However, the practical aspect of this parameter comes into question when ideological and political pressures in the TT override the original effect of the ST - an area that has not been covered by Nida’s cultural model.

To illustrate, we observe in Reuters that there are certain expressions such as ‘*Washington’s desire to keep a lid on Middle East violence*’ which was translated into Reuters Arabic as ‘*Washington’s desire to calm the situation in the Middle East*’ or translating ‘*carnage*’ as ‘*the blast site*’, that are shifted not for the sake of bridging cultural differences between the two languages. It seems reasonable to suggest that there are different degrees of effect because there are ideological factors and power relations impinging on the act of translation. In other words, Nida’s cultural model falls short in catering for such ideological contexts which are capable of creating different modes of behaviour or different effect in the target text, as observed in the present study. It is further suggested that the conception of response and effect should be examined in its own right in the target texts in order to arrive at the critical factors which actually control the intended function in translation (cf. the descriptive approach 5.3.1).

5.2.1.3 Communicative and Pragmatic Equivalence Approaches **(Newmark and Koller)**

Echoing Nida’s prescriptive line of study, Newmark (in the 1970s) replaces the terms formal and dynamic with “semantic” and “communicative” respectively:

- **Semantic translation** remains faithful to the ST and its author with flexible changes in the formal structure: that is, making small concessions to new readership to preserve the original.
- **Communicative translation** basically preserves the content of the ST with acceptable language to the new readership. It emphasizes Nida's concept of equivalent effect to suit a new readership and to promote communication between the source and target cultures.

To Newmark (1988 and 1991) shifts basically relate to the grammatical and formal features of the text in order to access the content of the original. Shifts may also occur as a result of stylistic considerations. Newmark's prescriptive approach or utopian conception of translation that informs the translator what s/he "has" to do, again fails to describe or explain real ideological issues in translation. In fact, adaptation, to Newmark (1988), is considered as "deplorable practice". For example, translating '*a suicide Palestinian bomber*' into '*a young Palestinian woman*' into Reuters Arabic is neither "semantic" nor "communicative" in this case, for it does not provide equivalent effect in the TT. Nonetheless, Newmark moves translation discussions to the level of text intention, type of readership or moral issues, such as the concept of relaying "factual truth" in translation. These issues will be debated in the following sections (e.g. see Skopos, 5.3.2).

A similar approach by Koller in the 1970s introduces the notion of "**pragmatic equivalence**" to promote Nida's dynamic equivalence method in translation. Pragmatic equivalence communicates the original text according to well-known values in the receiving culture. It takes into consideration the communicative conditions of different readership in order to create comprehensibility and the same effect. Koller moves debates on translation from contrastive linguistics or issues of competence in the foreign language to "translation equivalence" where the translator pays attention to the ST and to the TL communicative conditions in order to produce what Koller terms "frameworks of equivalence" (see Munday, 2001, Hatim, 2001b). As Munday comments on Koller's approach: "it is knowledge and ability in equivalences that are indicative of competence in translation" (Munday, 2001: 47). These frameworks can be "formal", "denotative", "connotative", "text-normative" and/or "pragmatic". However, Koller's comparisons are still unable to address wider pragmatic issues such as speech acts, or relevance as we will

see later on in Hatim and Mason's theorization of the pragmatic aspect of discourse (section 5.2.2.3) or Gutt's conception of cognition and context (section 5.3.4.2).

Moreover, in the current study, shifts cannot be examined merely in terms of the translator's lack of "translation competence" where s/he cannot figure out the pragmatic meaning of the original. For instance, there are recurrent cases in Al-Manar where the translator replaces speech acts, such as *X reported* or *said* by *x alleged* or *claimed*, not because the translator is unable to figure out the equivalent pragmatic meaning. Rather, the translator here intends to achieve a particular relevance or politeness in the target situation – a phenomenon that is not addressed by Koller's pragmatic conception of translation.

It has been argued in the previous chapters that the recipient (ST/TT receiver) is the valid consumer of the political sign. That is, there are specific production and reception regimes involving power relations, solidarity, discursal values or ideological presuppositions which are also communicated or legitimized in the TT. Therefore, the investigation of discourse shifting needs to capture other conditions surrounding the production and reception of a political news report rather than just reducing the text to grammatical, semantic or textual units in order to relay the meaning or effect of the original.

The following section will attempt to address more advanced normative notions in translation studies (in the 1980s and 1990s) informed by discourse analysis, functional and critical linguistics. This will show the translator's awareness of larger contextual variables and constraints as well as the linguistic strategies that s/he seems to assess and compare; then legitimate or delegitimate in the TT (see section 3.4 on delegitimation). The following discourse-oriented approaches will have an impact on our discourse analysis scheme in Chapter 6, since they can in fact offer wider normative criteria whenever equivalence relations have to be examined at the functional and textual levels.

5.2.2 The Contribution of Discourse Approaches

5.2.2.1 Translation Quality Assessment (House)

House's model of "translation quality assessment" (1997) represents a refined approach to the study of equivalence in translation. Her contribution directs attention to important

contextual constraints such as language function, which is related to the functional meaning of the sign, and register variation that should be heeded in translation²⁴. Within her scheme, House refers the analyst to Halliday's functional components of language to assess the quality of translation. That is, the translator has to characterize a primary language function (ideational or interpersonal) in the ST in order to produce functional equivalence in the target language. From House's perspective, the ideational component tends to be equated with a "referential" or an "informational text function", i.e. when information flow becomes a priority. On the other hand, the interpersonal component tends to be equated with a "non-referential" or "involved text function", i.e. reflecting "the author's own involvement" in the text, such as the emotive or metaphoric use in the text. Here, House makes reference to Biber's conception of "involved vs. informational text production". This involved meaning of the text will be exemplified in our analytical procedure of section 6.2.5.

House's model is prescriptive in the sense that it guides the translator to characterize the overall function of the ST; to realize the related register varieties of field, mode and tenor; and to set up a comparison of original and translation to locate changes in register (e.g. formality) or critical mismatches in the interpersonal function, i.e. original author's stance or intention. House remarks that this should not happen for unwarranted "lingua cultural" reasons; i.e. necessary changes should be undertaken only to bridge cultural differences.

House's linguistic model, informed somewhat by functional language analysis, is a useful route to any analysis of translation operations, including the current study, for this model sets basic comparisons of two texts in terms of the lexical and syntactic means as well as the textual means (e.g. coherence and theme) that realize the situational parameters of genre, register and language function. House's model also helps the analyst to assess the "social role relationship" (i.e. author's stance and social attitude) and authorial values that should be communicated in translation.

This prescriptive approach calls, in principle, for preserving or recreating the situational constraints of the original as well as the cultural environment of the source by two kinds of translation method: "**overt translation**" that seeks access to source language functions and register; or "**covert translation**" that caters for target lingua-cultural expectations to resemble SL function.

²⁴ See section 2.3.1 on the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions and section 2.3.2 on the referential, expressive or phatic functions.

To House, shifting means deploying a “cultural filter” in covert translation in order to provide content explicitness; otherwise translation becomes what House calls a “version”, “covert error” or “other textual operations”. Therefore, a translation phenomenon that involves discourse or interpersonal shifts to serve the ideologies or publishing trends of the target text situation falls outside the scope of this normative approach. As House clearly puts it: “a theory of translation quality assessment is not into the business of postulating marketing motives, publishers’ power, best-seller aspirations” (House, 1997: 165). In other words, the translator must follow the interpersonal stance of the original, and comparison with the ST is the ultimate measure of the quality of the target language text. Hence, any ideological intervention in translation should lead to what House calls “errors” or “unwarranted results” in translation.

It may be argued here that House’s prescriptive model will not accept a shift in translation that tones down a Reuters text by translating, for instance, *the carnage* as *blast site* or by deleting metaphorical descriptions such as *Israeli forces penned Arafat in* or *to root out suicide bombers* from the TT, in order to sell the news to a new audience. We thus conclude that there are other factors that yet need to be addressed or compared in politically sensitive translations such as the principle of politeness, power relations or the purpose of translation. Therefore, the next sections will integrate other translations studies to show the translator’s awareness of the whole constellation of conditioning factors and functions s/he seems to assess, channel or challenge in daily media translation.

5.2.2.2 Text Analysis in Translation (Nord)

Nord’s “Text Analysis in Translation” (1991) affords another useful insight for our analysis of discourse shifting in politically sensitive translation. This model brings to the fore another functionalist aspect of the translation activity and incorporates more elements of source text analysis above sentence level. Nord (1991, 1997) suggests the consideration of different contextual or “extratextual factors” that give the text its function and make it meaningful for its receiver in the ST/TT. Here, the analyst or the translator trainee should investigate the instructions given to the translator by his/her commissioner, compare the profiles of both ST and TT to see where they might diverge and address the following concerns: who is the text sender; what is the intended text function (e.g. to inform or appeal); the addressees and their expectations that make communication successful; the medium (newspaper, TV or internet); place and time

where differences could be important; and motive (i.e. reason or purpose for text production, e.g. to inform or alarm the audience).

Furthermore, Nord makes reference to the role of the source-text analysis which in our case is important to consider because as Nord puts it “ the source text provides the offer of information that forms the starting point for the offer of information formulated in the target text” (Nord, 1997: 62). In text analysis Nord draws attention to what she terms “intratextual factors” such as content, subject matter, presuppositions, textual construction, lexical means or syntactic orders, for example, thematic organization, choice of lexis, clefting or the adding of necessary details to relay ST presuppositions that can reveal the functional priorities in the text which lead to special effects.

Nord’s model of text analysis is very fruitful since it identifies some of the ways in which the comparative analysis of this study can be informed and empirically investigated in Chapter 6 both at the functional and textual levels. However, this model remains prescriptive in that it sees the translator’s role constrained within a process of “inter-cultural communication” that basically builds on “loyalty” to the source culture. In this respect, Nord distinguishes between “**documentary** vs. **instrumental**” translations. In documentary translation the translator produces a document that allows the target recipient access to the exotic culture and ideas of the ST and where the reader is aware that it is a translation. In instrumental translation, the TT recipient reads the TT in a different form without being aware that it was produced for a different ST reader. However, Nord’s conception of loyalty states that in both types of translation the translator remains loyal to the source, even when adaptive procedures have to be followed.

To Nord, shifting becomes “instrumental” only when it achieves “comprehensibility” in the target culture at the levels of language and register. In other words, her model, designed for the training of translators, basically seeks “language and culture proficiency” (Nord, 1997: 78) dressed up with target culture conventions. Again, this does not answer questions on power relations or ideological presuppositions that are also brought to bear on the translator’s final decision. For instance, Nord’s concern would be on how to translate an Arabic expression seen in Al-Manar into English, e.g.

وهكذا تنضم هذه القرية الى مثيلاتها الفلسطينية القابعة تحت الاحتلال

A documentary translation:

Thus, this village joins its Palestinian likes suppressed under occupation;

or an instrumental translation that is more comprehensible to the English reader:

Thus, this village joins similar Palestinian villages living under occupation.

It may be suggested here that ideology and power relations are the additional “extratextual” constraints that need to be added to Nord’s model of analysis. The following section will address other important factors that should be integrated into normative approaches to translation where the analyst can make comparisons at higher communicative levels.

5.2.2.3 A Critical Discourse Analysis Approach (Hatim and Mason)

Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997) and Hatim (1997, 2001b) adopt a CDA-related framework that can be applied to both the practice and analysis of translating, thus providing a decisive advance in normative translation research. This methodology is of interest here because it considers a wider network of contextual activity that impinges on the textual process of translation. Hatim and Mason go beyond register analysis²⁵ in translation by integrating recent research on sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse and ideology. This model is valuable in that it augments the analyst’s awareness of a more complex set of contextual and textual dimensions of the SL text in the course of translating into the TL text. Consider how the contextual dimensions under this approach go beyond the array of the above analytical approaches:

“**Register**”: The translator’s awareness of language and stylistic variation that should be appropriate to a given situation. To achieve this, the translator has to consider the user-related variables (e.g. a dialect) and the use factors that reflect the field of discourse (e.g. the political event in Reuters/AFP); tenor or type of relationship between addressor and addressee (e.g. degree of formality, intimacy and role of text producer whether to report, inform or argue); and channel of communication (e.g. a report on a TV station to be heard and consumed vs. a written report to be re-written). Register is a constraint that gives the text its functional stylistic variation to achieve successful communication. For instance, a political news report written to be read or heard displays a formal tenor with neutral style

²⁵ For definition of register refer to section 2.3.1.

and a relative absence of emotive vocabulary. Consider the following translation into Al-Manar's news bulletin:

AFP D (Appendix A):

Burns called for calm on the blue line

vs. بيرنز دعا الى الهدوء على الخط الأزرق

BT: *Burns called for calm on the blue line.*

Here one sees the translator's awareness of political vocabulary (field), the formal news style which seeks to efficiently inform the audience (tenor), and the narrative (mode) to be broadcasted and heard by the targeted audience.

“**Pragmatics**”: The translator's awareness of the text producer's intentions, presuppositions, speech acts, implicatures or the Cooperative Principle and politeness values involved between sender and receiver in addition to the concept of being relevant to intended receivers.

It must be noted here that Hatim and Mason's approach is unique in considering the face wants of participants in the text. Their analysis of a formalization of speech acts, by which the speaker maintains or threatens H's face via the level of technicality and formality which characterizes the relationship between the reporter and his/her audience, adds a new dimension to the analysis of pragmatics in translation. Furthermore, their analysis of speech acts during the translation process draws further attention to the text producer's ability of how to do things with words. Consider the following speech acts:

Reuters A (Appendix A):

A Palestinian bomber *killed... left the area strewn with pools of blood.*

According to this model, the translator has to pay attention to and relay the ST presuppositions or implied meanings that in this case incriminate the Palestinian fighter. The model also draws attention to the politeness phenomenon where the translator keeps the “journalistic neutrality” or displays distance in an expository text type with his/her audience, rather than showing a high degree of evaluation which can “obliterate” the identity of the expository text type. However, it may also be said that in a politically

sensitive text, an FTA might also happen for other reasons, such as agreement and sympathy with outgroups vs. ingroups, as will be seen in section 6.3.4.

Hatim and Mason also distinguish another dimension which they term “semiotic” with which to supplement register analysis. That is to say, they treat the communicative dimensions of field, tenor and mode as signs inside a system of signs, including considerations of genre, discourse and text. They note:

“Adding a semiotic dimension to field of discourse (the experiential component of context) relates it to genres and their conventions. Similarly, tenor (the interpersonal component of context) relates to discourse as an expression of attitude. Finally, genre and discourse find expression in texts through the textual component of context” (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 75).

This semiotic construct embodies the conventions and the cultural presuppositions generated between people in different cultures. Here, they suggest that the translator has to be attentive to what the foreign language can do, how the whole text is structured and with what rhetorical or attitudinal intention. In this respect one may consider more contextual dimensions within this semiotic meaning:

“**Genre**”: The translator’s awareness of a conventionalized type of text or a communicative event established by ST/TT conventions. Encoding a genre must reflect in the ST/TT what is appropriate to a given social occasion and the purposes of the participants (e.g. the genre of the news report vs. the scientific report on Al-Manar TV). In the present study, the analyst has to consider, for example, the generic constraints of Al-Manar’s reporting of live political events for a wide Arabic-speaking or Muslim community and the way the translator maintains this particular use of language to cater for TL conventions, for instance, the conventional political reporting of *Zionist sources said* or *the Israeli War Minister claimed*, as one typically hears on Al-Manar TV or observes in Al-Manar translations.

“**Discourse**”: The translator’s awareness of attitudes such as bias, ideology, power relations, point of view, detachment or emotiveness in text production which have to be preserved in the target text. It can be noted here that despite the fact that one may observe a different discourse in the TT (e.g. the use of *Zionists* in Al-Manar vs. *Israeli forces* in AFP), one can see the importance of this contextual dimension when comparisons have to

be established at this level of analysis (see the discourse analysis scheme in Chapter 6 for more details).

Hatim and Mason further explain that this broad semiotic activity ultimately yields a specific text type with a predominant function or “rhetorical purpose” (i.e. instruction; detached vs. evaluative exposition or argumentation). In this way, the expository text type of AFP has to be distinguished from that of Al-Manar according to what is pragmatically intended and attitudinally determined by the media agency in order to communicate a particular political report to a particular audience at this moment in history in the Middle East. In this respect, Hatim and Mason usefully refer the analyst to the varied “degree of evaluativeness” or “markedness” seen in the text structure and texture in order to unfold the semiotic activity at work and the extent of mediation in text production. Applied to translation, the degree of evaluativeness means that detached or unemotive exposition requires a literal or formal equivalence translation technique; whereas evaluative or argumentative texts require text management and a freer technique in translation.

Basically, Hatim and Mason’s approach to translation favours access to the original text. That is to say, the translator should seek to achieve in the TT equivalent intended effects, rhetorical purpose, and discursal values. This could be achieved through methods including formal, semantic, overt, communicative or covert translation, i.e. without subscribing to rigid taxonomies in the translation strategy. The analytical framework of Hatim and Mason’s model can be applicable to all comparative models in translation, because the analyst has to compare the intentions, power relations, ideational and interpersonal meanings between the ST and the TT and the way they are brought to bear on the “micro-analysis” of the text. To carry out the micro-analysis of the text, Hatim and Mason suggest the critical investigation of the following features:

- 1- The structural or compositional plan which is concerned with the scene or tone-setting and the way the text elements are stated, substantiated, or argued. According to Hatim and Mason, an expository text type has the format of scene-setting that is usually expounded or substantiated. Hatim (2001a) notes that in Arabic exposition there is “the use of the verbal sentence structure and the maintenance of heavy parallelistic arrangement in sequencing the various sentences of the text” (Hatim, 2001a: 87). By contrast an argumentative text type

has the format of tone-setting that is argued through or rebutted in structure (e.g. the use of but/ however).

- 2- Texture or the textual practices which are concerned with thematization, lexical choices, speech acts, implied meanings or cohesion. They also pay attention to the consideration of shifts in the transitivity structure that cause a shift in the ideational function of the text or shifts in modality that cause a shift in the interpersonal function.

As one notes, the analysis at the micro-level also increases the analyst's awareness of power relations, involvement or emotiveness in the ST that should be normally communicated in translation. This approach will inspire our discourse analysis scheme of Chapter 6 since it brings to light the importance of a CDA-related approach to comparative analysis in translation studies, that is to say, as a critical model capable of analysing attitudes or power relations through the textual practices of the text.

However, the issue that remains unsolved is the translator's resistance to relaying the above contextual constraints or the rhetorical purpose of the producer of the ST "untainted" into the target text. In our case study, relaying appropriate effects of the communicative-pragmatic-semiotic dimensions of the original does not seem to be a problem for the professional translators who work for e.g. Reuters/Al-Manar. We may conclude that such translators dealing with sensitive texts are well aware of the ST register, intention and values; yet, s/he still allows a counter-hegemonic reading to creep into the TT. In other words, the translator's role in media translation is not merely constrained by his/her linguistic competence in both languages, nor in his/her ability to bridge cultural or ideological gaps as defined by the above normative approaches to translation. The additional context that now needs to be examined in this study is the translator's actual contribution to creating counter-ideological positions through his/her profession, i.e. how one can explain a translation phenomenon such as:

AFP D (Appendix A):

The US efforts for peace in the ME...

vs. Al-Manar's translation:

الجهود الامريكية لاعادة اطلاق عملية التسوية في المنطقة

BT:

The US efforts to re-launch the settlement process in the area.

In this context we need to address other important insights from translation theory through which one can gain a further understanding of the constraints surrounding this phenomenon, but from the target language perspective. Therefore, the following section will focus on shifts by studying them in their own functional and pragmatic right and where the original becomes merely an offer of information. This should help unravel more constraints surrounding the translation of politically motivated texts which also need to be considered in the final analysis scheme in the following chapter.

5.3 Studying Discourse Shifts in their Own Right

(The Contribution of the Target-Oriented Theories, Postcolonial Theory, and Relevance Theory)

This section will provide another frame of reference for the investigation of discourse shifts, however, from a target-oriented perspective. The purpose here is to define more constraints surrounding the translation of foreign hegemonies and to describe the actual translation strategy or use one finds via a study of discourse shifts in politically sensitive translation. This second part of the investigation will capture (without being exhaustive) the translation studies that can deal with studying translations as they are in their target settings; the pragmatic purpose of discourse shifts; the ethical role of the translator in de/colonizing his/her community; the hegemonic context of a politically motivated text; the translation strategy associated with an ideological agenda; and the cognitive use we see via discourse shifts.

5.3.1 The Contribution of a Descriptive Approach to the Study of Shifts in Ideologically Motivated Discourses (Hermans and Toury)

In order to describe the actual translations in the present study, the analyst further needs to refer to a non-prescriptive line of research that, in theory, does not attempt to give guidelines for matters such as good, unequivalent practice or errors in translation. In contrast to the above normative parameters that favour a source-oriented type, one needs to investigate how Al-Manar/Reuter's translations actually appear, what the shifts come to mean in the receiving culture or what translation strategy is favoured to a particular

nation during this period in history when politically sensitive issues arise. Attention, therefore, turns to different insights from contemporary translation studies that do not make statements about how the translation process should occur; but rather look for causes of shifts or what can be seen by e.g. House as “versions” or “errors” in translation. As Hermans (1999) sharply puts it:

“It is worth asking what the problem was that a given translation was intended to solve... Looking for possible answers to the question *why* translations turn out as they do means inquiring into their function, or their intended function...Respecting the complexity of translation in its cultural, social and historical context, it urges attention to the whole constellation of functions, intentions and conditioning factors” (Hermans, 1999: 38-39).

It has been argued in the previous chapter that discourse shifts chart ethical issues in a particular period in history and that discursive frameworks determine the style of translation as well as its cognitive aspect. Therefore, the target text, being a legitimate text in its immediate environment, requires investigating from a descriptive and target-oriented approach. In this concern, the descriptive approach (Holmes, 2000; Toury, 2000; Hermans, 1999) is our basic and first useful insight into the investigation of shifts in their own right. A descriptive methodology invites the analyst to describe²⁶ the processes and phenomena at work in translation, i.e. the observable aspects of translation that reflect the target’s “norms” or the forces of a historical period rather than what is in the ST, in other words, examining the recurrent preferences which translators show and without necessarily wishing to impose on the “facts” of the target system.

From this perspective, the analyst of a politically sensitive report is invited to describe the salient and recurring aspects observed in the target’s situation along with the impact of shifts in translation; the function of translation in the recipient environment; its cognitive use; and its political position or ideological context in history.

This approach encourages the analyst to accommodate shifts within their target ideological and linguistic context, hence, helping us to explain the deployment of a specific translation strategy, its acceptability at a certain time in a certain place, its success in the recipient system and its role in contemporary history. In other words, the importance of a non-prescriptive approach based on Toury’s conception of translation (2000) will help us to understand what factors in the receiving culture make shifts

²⁶ A descriptive conception of translation will be seen more at work in Chapter 6 when shifts are analysed as contextual and textual facts of the TT rather than treating them as errors in translation.

“acceptable” according to the target culture norms rather than “adequate” to ST norms; and what translation strategy can describe it without favouring a specific translation strategy – which is actually one of the aims in this study.

Therefore, a descriptive methodology needs to connect with other insights from contemporary translation studies that can describe shifts in their host ideological and pragmatic environment. The following sub-sections will contribute to this descriptive process.

5.3.2 The Contribution of Skopos Theory (Vermeer)

Skopos theory is another useful insight that can describe and give reasons for the phenomenon of discourse shifts in translation from a target-oriented perspective. Skopos is derived from Greek, meaning aim or purpose and was introduced into translation studies by Reiss and Vermeer in the 1970s as a technical term for the purpose or aim of translation and the “translational action”²⁷.

Skopos theory (Vermeer, 1996, 2000) holds that translation is seen as an action with an aim leading to a result: “a translatum (i.e. the resulting translated text), as a particular variety of target text” (Vermeer, 2000: 221). The useful insight of this influential theory is that translation can be considered as “a new offer of information in the target culture about some information offered in the source culture and language” (cited in Nord, 1997: 26). This casts light on the new decisive contextual factors in the recipient situation that make the translator determine whether the ST needs to be fully reproduced or edited. The theory draws attention to the study of the following contexts:

- The “**defined goal**” of the target text: That is, the purpose or aim of a translation, what content to translate, does the audience need full access to the ideological position, images or descriptions in the original, how to translate, why to act in a certain way although the translator could have produced, for example, an equivalent effect. As Vermeer puts it, “the end justifies the means... write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function” (cited in Nord, 1997: 29). For instance, translating a politically sensitive report from AFP into Al-Manar’s Arabic news bulletin should inform

²⁷ The term “translational action” comes from Holz-Mänttari’s model that defines translation as a complex action carried out by experts to achieve a particular communicative purpose (see Nord, 1997).

without raising a protest from the Islamic and Arab audience; should exclude what they might see in the ST as problematic classifications; and should achieve political solidarity with ingroups, thus making the translatum acceptable in the target situation.

- The translation “**commission**”: As Vermeer notes “let us define a commission as the instructions, given by oneself or by someone else, to carry out a given action – here to translate” (Vermeer, 2000: 229), for instance, the instructions given to Al-Manar’s translators by their news editors to translate an AFP/Reuters text into Arabic to be read on the Arabic news bulletin. The commissioner or the client usually defines the goals of news production that are usually negotiated with and accepted by the translator who chooses to work for this particular commissioner and not for media outlets with different ideological positions. The concept of a “specified commission” determines the skopos of translation and hence the translation strategy. Here, discourse shifts are seen to be part of the translation commission, although Vermeer (2000) avoids discussing cases of rewritten texts as encountered in the present study (for detailed analysis of commission, see section 6.2.5).

- The “**accountability**” or “ethos” of the translator to realize the given goal. Vermeer refines the role of the translator by focusing on his/her ethical part as “co-author” in addition to his/her linguistic skills. This implies the translator’s role in either accepting or resisting the commission, and the way s/he evaluates the surrounding circumstances of the target culture. For instance, Reuters translators can modify the ST to show more politeness towards or common grounds with the Arabic culture, e.g. translating *Palestinian Leader* into *Palestinian President* or a *Palestinian suicide bomber* into a *Palestinian*.

- The “**type of recipient**”: Here attention turns to the intended “addressee-type”. In our case, we may distinguish between a western audience who receives an AFP text vs. Al-Manar’s audience who receives Al-Manar’s preferred translatum without a protest. To illustrate, Al-Manar’s translators have a good idea of their intended addressee group and will accordingly produce a political translation that is pro-Palestinian in order to meet with the specific conditions and communicative needs of the new audience. Here, Vermeer draws one’s attention to an important issue in translation, namely the possibility of diverting from the ST in content or in goal when a different type of recipients is replaced.

In addition to aim, action and presupposition of a commission, Vermeer adds other pragmatic notions needed to make the target text functional, such as coherence and effect. In other words, to accomplish a particular communicative goal the TT must be constructed as coherent for the TT recipients, given their conditions and knowledge. These pragmatic issues will be expanded upon and exemplified in Chapter 6.

It is argued at this stage that discourse shifts, being a case defined by skopos to fulfil a specific aim, may relate to our previous discussions on ideology and discourse in the following manner:

- Relations of equivalence in a politically sensitive text are not fully sought by the translator when the ST strategic discourse is called into question by the commissioned task of the translator.
- The ST can be seen as an offer of information when the hegemony of the ST does not blend with the beliefs of the target society, for we have already concluded in the previous chapters that the ideological content or the ideological schema of a sensitive text can be interpreted as evaluative and not factual by default. Therefore, shifting is not likely to raise a protest when it meets with the target recipient expectations.
- The ethical role of the translator is seen by examining the truth criteria given in the ST. His/her decision of what needs to be included or excluded results from the discontinuity of the ST discursive constraints. Another important role given to the translator as co-author is seen in the positioning of translators, by their own commissions, as powerful participants in producing politically sensitive discourses that can in fact challenge the hegemonic forces of the original text. This confirms the hypothesis that the translator is the expert in what to include or exclude during the translational action and according to a given skopos.

Although the skopos theory does not deal with the ideological factors incorporated above (e.g. hegemony or ideological schema), skopos can actually give reasons for the kind of act adopted in translation, thus adding a very critical constraint to our study of politically motivated translations. In other words, aim, commission, type of readership and the translator's accountability can actually aid an enquiry into the real pragmatic function of the translated text (see section 6.2.5 for a detailed account of skopos and the function it

generates). In short, shifting happens according to the skopos of the commission and different skopi can result in different translations for different addressees of the same Reuters/AFP text.

Nevertheless, one needs at this stage to connect with other useful insights from translation studies that can clearly explain the creeping into the target situation of the new ideological content or function, e.g. replacing '*the security fence*' by '*what they call a security fence*'. Although one can ascribe such shifts to skopos, it must be noted that Vermeer (2000) avoided discussions of what he calls "rewritten text or the like" and remarked that they are beyond his discussion of commission. Therefore, the following discussion will attend to the study of ideology in the target situation that sustains the role of commission in translation – a phenomenon neglected by Vermeer and Reiss.

5.3.3 Investigating Counter-Ideology/Hegemony in Contemporary Translation Studies

It is concluded from the above discussions that relations of equivalence are not sought in the translating of a politically sensitive news report that does not require by the commission direct access to the full content of the original, i.e. in contrast to cases of political speeches or interpreting that usually require direct access to the original text. Furthermore, relations of equivalence may not be sought when skopos aims at different readership with different expectations. That is to say, one may consider a target-oriented translation that meets with the target's political norms vs. an equivalent translation that might cause a political offence. It has also been argued that relations of equivalence depend on contexts of power relations, ideological positions or editorial control. With reference to Fairclough (section 4.2.1), it can be reiterated that when there is a shift in these power relations one may expect transformation of orders of discourse. In a relevant way, one can expect transformation in translation, it being a form of discourse practice or an instrument of language use that responds to ideological conflicts.

Thus far, a realistic description and explanation of the interaction between translation and its new ideological context is now required. For this reason, more useful insights from contemporary translation studies on ideology are proposed here to examine what actually happens in the host environment before taking the ST as the main yardstick in translation. This will help to identify additional contextual constraints which seem to be at work in

the recipient situation. Moreover, our chosen insights in the following sections are part of our enquiry that should help to identify the translation strategy at work in the present study.

5.3.3.1 Rewriting and the Translation of Ideology (Lefevere)

Another insight that can address this case study from an ideological perspective relates to Lefevere's (1992) conception of translation as "rewriting". Translation as rewriting takes into account the "ideological pressures" or power exercised in the target culture. Lefevere suggests that "translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text... Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society" (Lefevere, 1992: vii). Lefevere's focus is on comparative literature studies, but the utility of his approach draws attention to ideological facts within target cultures. Lefevere explains that in translation, the analyst goes beyond linguistic considerations to examine issues like "patronage" and "ideology". Patronage is related to the powers of institutions such as political, educational or religious bodies or influential individuals, such as editors in the media, who can control or guide the production of translation and govern its consumption by the public. Lefevere further discusses the ideological component to this patronage (i.e. beliefs, conventions, views of the world) that controls the translation strategy or the "acceptance of patronage". The latter is an important factor in examining the translator's acceptance to rewrite an original text in terms of the power of his/her patrons and to legitimate its new form and content.

One of the examples given by Lefevere (1992) is the translation of Ann Frank's diary²⁸ into German by Annaliese Shütz that has deliberately manipulated the original text via the "ideological omissions" of insults; the toning down of the plight of the Jews and the manipulation of adjectives of insults, emotional terminology and descriptions (e.g. *puts against the wall* vs. *shoot*) in order to avoid political offence and to sell well in Germany. According to Lefevere:

"Faithfulness is just one translational strategy that can be inspired by the collocation of a certain ideology with a certain poetics... Translated texts as such can teach us much about the interaction of cultures and the manipulation of texts. These topics, in turn, may be of more interest to the world at large than our opinion as to whether a certain word has been properly translated or not" (Lefevere, 1992: 51).

²⁸ A young Dutch Jewish school girl in hiding with her family during the Second World War.

This conception will be seen via the analysis of shifts at many contextual and textual levels, e.g. rewriting the causal process in a text or changing the circumstantial elements in translation (see section 6.3.1), underlexicalization (see section 6.3.3.2) or deleting what can be seen as insults to Arab readers such as *to pen Arafat in* as we will see later in Reuters texts.

Lefevere's wider conception of translation is an important advance, for it can explain the interaction between ideological pressures and translation rather than focusing on linguistic criteria alone. In this case, examining shifts in the translations from AFP/Reuters into the Arab media can be seen at this stage as taking part of a wider system in a specific society. That is, this kind of translation should give the world an idea about the firm beliefs of the target society members, their humanity, the way they think of self and other, the censorship or power exercised by the news makers such as resisting foreign patronage or a hegemonic discourse, and the new role of the translator who contributes to the reproduction of his/her identity and culture. In other words, translation shifts can be ideological transformations that are part of the production of a culture, and indeed translation is part of this culture.

Furthermore, it has been argued above that ideological state apparatuses ensure the reproduction of the ruling ideology via translation itself. As a result, the ideological apparatuses, patronages or commission dictate the translation strategy and the solution to sensitive problems in politics. The remaining task to be addressed is the investigation of the hegemonic orders of these dominant institutions and patronages in translation studies. This is because ideological pressures interconnect with hegemonic orders. In this regard, the following sub-section will add another insight from recent translation studies to address the actual hegemony in the translated text – an area recently investigated by postcolonial theorists.

5.3.3.2 The Contribution of Deconstruction and Postcolonial Theories to the Study of Ideology in Translation (Robinson)

Deconstruction²⁹ has been incorporated into modern translation theory in order to account for the colonial context that marginalizes the image and language of the “Other”, i.e. invaded nations or conquered cultures (see Robinson, 1997 and Davis, 2001).

²⁹ Refer to section 2.4 for definition.

Deconstruction addresses the interplay of forces or power relations that actually operate around ideologically motivated translations – i.e. western texts vs. “third world” texts. The poststructuralist thinking of deconstruction helps postcolonial scholars to question the effects of colonial discourses in translation during a particular colonial rule, that is, the way translation serves and channels power and authority (e.g. assimilating native literature from Southern India to the discourses of Christianity). Here, postcolonialists argue that translation has a wide and dangerous role to play in the colonization process when it communicates the hegemonic stereotypes of the dominant culture rather than entering into a relationship with the dominated (i.e. with the ST literature that belongs to the less powerful culture as a Wholly Other).

According to this approach, postcolonial translators are invited to use translation as a strategy to resist the colonizer’s imposition of ideological values upon the real identity or experience of the Third World literature (i.e. the ST literature), thus, adding an element of ethical responsibility towards understanding the situation and language of the Wholly Other³⁰ against predetermined and hegemonic decisions by the dominant. The given approach of this postcolonial translation theory, as seen in the work of e.g. Niranjana, Spivak, Cheyfitz (see Robinson, 1997, Gentzler, 2001, Munday, 2001), argues that literary translations from invaded cultures (e.g. Indian/Bengali into European languages) have failed to translate the real image of natives from the colonized East because the translator assimilates the differences of their views to suit the norms of western empires³¹, for instance, giving the speech of local characters in a translated novel from Punjab into English accents or registers similar to what is found in urban North America. The advocates of this approach argue that translation should not channel this western colonization, but should communicate these differences which reflect the original’s identity, history or the image of indigenous cultures, i.e. using translation as a tool of decolonization. In other words, this approach prefers a translation strategy akin to literalism to allow western readers access to third world source texts without political decidability or interference from colonial or western discourses. Furthermore, postcolonialists distance themselves from translation strategies that privilege assimilation, manipulation, a rewriting process or from a translation strategy similar to discourse shifting in translation.

³⁰ Section 2.4.2 discusses Derrida’s call for a vigilant questioning of the dominant strategies and institutionalized assumptions that do not address the ideology of others.

³¹ According to Robinson, 1997, an empire involves political, economic, educational or religious bodies that have an established system of domination and discourse capable of controlling other nations.

This approach might seem at first glance outside the scope of our case study as it encourages translations to come to terms with the foreign text, especially the literary one. However, the usefulness of this approach is seen in its investigation of the hegemonic contexts that underlie final productions in translation. Paradoxically, the discourses of the less powerful nations may happen to fall at the target pole as is the case in the present study and not merely at the source pole. Therefore, it is argued that a hegemonic approach should investigate the ideology, power, differences, image or energy found in each text, whether in the SL or the TL in order to understand the real purpose and function of translation, arrive at those additional constraints that govern the translator's act, and to explain the recurrent preferences which translators show in the TT. Consider the following translations that recur in Al-Manar:

AFP A:

The security fence... the Green Line

Al-Manar BT:

'what they call a security fence... the so-called Green Line... the so-called security fence'.

It may also be assumed at this point that Al-Manar's translator seems to question and resist what s/he considers as a colonial discourse (e.g. *security fence*) so that the final product s/he produces does not resemble in the feel of its discourse something naturalized by a reporter from the West/AFP. This deconstruction of meaning will equally help the political discourse analyst to understand the political domination and power relations that characterize the discourses of a particular society at a specific period in history in both the ST and TT.

It may be concluded here that the role of the translator can be examined when s/he enters into a relationship with the Wholly Other that could be the least powerful nations (according to the above postcolonial theorists), or the western nations as is the case in the present study (i.e. Reuters/AFP texts). In a similar vein one can observe that the translator is obviously resisting the hegemonic themes that run throughout the Reuters/AFP texts. That is to say, the translator tends to deconstruct a totalitarian³² meaning that results in re-

³² Totalitarian readings of texts, i.e. readings based on the assumption that the ST is a stable entity that can be reduced to a definite conceptual core.

writing the original to serve the different hegemonic orders or ideological agendas of the target situation.

The translator's responsibility to call into question aspects of domination, whether coming from the source culture or target culture is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored in translation studies, especially in our investigation of what happens in sensitive media translations that serve a particular skopos for a different audience. Moreover, we may argue that the deconstruction of the foreign discourses by the Arab journalistic translator himself/herself and the resisting of their hegemonic images relating to Middle Eastern events eventually contributes to the reproduction of the dominant political positions, history or education in the Middle East. Our contextual analysis in the following chapter should make this philosophical conception of translation more empirical when it integrates hegemony within a practical discourse analysis scheme.

The remaining question in this chapter is: what translation strategy or use can describe the ideological shifts in politically sensitive translations? Since it is known so far that they are determined to a large extent by skopos, patronage, or hegemonic orders, we need to find the translation strategy that can articulate these contexts. It must be noted here that the translation strategies mentioned under the normative approach above (i.e. dynamic, communicative, covert or instrumental) cannot in fact describe the translation strategy observed in the current study, for the simple reason that here the translator does not promote an equivalent effect or equivalent interpersonal function in the target culture. For instance, the recurrent shifts seen in transforming '*the Palestinian violence*' into '*the Palestinian attack*' in Reuters Arabic is a translation strategy that is outside the scope of the models of Nida, House or Nord.

Therefore, our investigation continues to seek the approaches that subsume an interface between a dominant ideology or hegemony and a particular translation strategy or a specific pragmatic use in translation that is relevant to the ideological beliefs of the target recipients. This will be the scope of the following section.

5.3.4 Investigating Translation Strategy and Use in Discourse Shifts

Based on the factual information provided in section 3.6 regarding the ideological trends in the Arab media, one can observe that Reuters Arabic/Al-Manar translations of

politically sensitive reports, especially on the Arab-Israeli conflict, favour a translation strategy that foregrounds the dominant political or religious beliefs of the Arab world; shows respect and politeness towards the identity of the Arabs and Muslims; is ‘objective’, ‘unbiased’, ‘credible’ and ‘relevant’, and responds to market forces to sell well. Furthermore, the fact that many Arabic institutions (Arab leaders, leading media sources and religious leaders) warn against the use of a media text that has a colonizing terminology or unacceptable alien concepts, makes us conclude that the translator cannot be always seen as an innocent consumer of the foreign strategic text.

It was also argued that discourse shifting and the unconscious political beliefs of the translator himself/herself about the causes of political struggle in the Middle East seem to be policing the production regimes of many ruling groups in the Arab States. The previous chapter on critical discourse studies has theoretically proven that discourse shifts can be pragmatically coherent and relevant without raising a protest from their respective audiences if they match with the discursal orders of the target society. From this perspective, the present study suggests that two important translation techniques are adopted in the case of discourse shifts in translation to avoid what can be seen as threat in the target situation. These techniques are a “domesticated translation” or “a descriptive use in translation”. These two translation techniques will be duly explained in the following sub-sections.

5.3.4.1 Discourse Shifting as a Domesticating Translation Strategy (Venuti)

In a decisive advance that links ideology, dominant discourse and political agendas to strategies and effects of translation, Venuti (1995, 1998) distinguishes two translation ideologies: “**domesticating**” vs. “**foreignizing**”. Foreignizing is a translation strategy³³ that aims at building bridges with foreign literature³⁴ and cultures. It basically prefers preserving the linguistic and cultural differences of a foreign text to disrupt the prevailing codes in the target language. Here, Venuti favours what he calls “resistancy” which makes visible the presence of the translator by drawing attention to the foreign ideology of the ST. Consider, for example, the translator’s visibility in the following translation from Arabic into Al-Manar’s English news bulletin:

³³ Foreignizing is a translation strategy favoured by Venuti in literary translation.

³⁴ Venuti focuses on the translation of foreign literatures into the Anglo-American culture; however, his contribution to general translation studies has been insightful.

A heavily orchestrated back-to-back Palestinian ambush left at least 12 Israelis dead mostly soldiers... The well-knit operation took place at the outskirts of the West Bank city of al-Khalil, when Palestinian resistance fighters opened fire at Israelis on the so-called prayer road that leads to the settlement of Kiryat Arba.

Al-Manar's English News, 16 October 2002 (Appendix B).

Conversely, domesticating is a strategy that makes the translator “invisible” or gives the “illusion of transparency” so that the translated text reads easily as if it were an original or “not translated”, thus erasing traces of the foreign. Venuti relates this strategy to “intelligibility” and “fluency” in that it aims at achieving easy or familiarized access to what is present in the original text. By applying this strategy to our Reuters corpus, we may observe that a domesticating translation strategy of English Reuters will be represented as follows in Reuters Arabic:

BT of an excerpt from Reuters A (Appendix A):

Palestinian President Yasser Arafat expressed strong condemnation... the Israeli tanks have been surrounding the Palestinian President in his headquarters since 29 March... Powell got a view of the blast site from aboard a military helicopter... instead of a foreignizing translation that can yield more information about the source language ideology, structure and hegemonic scenes, e.g.

Reuters English (Reuters A, Appendix A):

Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat expressed strong condemnation... Arafat has been trapped in his headquarters in Ramallah surrounded by Israeli tanks... Powell got a first-hand view of the carnage in Jerusalem from aboard a military helicopter...

Venuti's theorization of a domesticating translation strategy is based on Schleiermacher's conception of translation (19th century). He shows that by following a domesticating method, the translator “leaves the reader in peace as much as possible, and moves the author towards him” (Venuti, 1995: 19-20). According to Venuti, this strategy is an ideological matter determined by governments, ideological alignments, political agendas, publishing industry trends and marketing pressures that are related to specific historical moments in the domestic situation. In the present study, a domesticating strategy means invisibly ‘inscribing’ Arabic and Muslim values, beliefs, representation and forms in the target text rather than importing the foreign ideology. These values dominating the target culture, as seen in section 3.6, show how Arab media and institutions prefer an assimilationist strategy to a threatening text which comes from

foreign media or institutions. This, in turn, produces a translation effect that is political and ideological in its core.

According to Venuti, a domesticating strategy followed in literary translation marginalizes the role of the translator and denies his/her voice when s/he is forced to alter the foreign text to conform to the receiving culture's prevailing concepts. However, it can be argued here that in political translations, a domesticating strategy might equally tone with the ideological beliefs of the translator himself/herself or to the hegemonic stereotypes of his/her own culture that s/he tends to inscribe in the TT in order to produce both fluent and relevant effects. That is to say, contrary to Venuti's conception, a domesticating translation strategy in the context of the present study does not deny the translator's voice but is relevant to what s/he actually believes to be true of politically sensitive communication with the Arab audience. In other words, the translator's role seen in a domesticating translation strategy may be, in fact, more critical than weak or "repressed". Furthermore, as Munday (2001) comments, Venuti's domesticating translation strategy "does not offer a specific methodology to apply to the analysis of translation" (Munday, 2001: 155). Therefore, our analysis chapter (Chapter 6) will offer an adequate linguistic description of what can be considered as a domesticating translation strategy.

In order to give an adequate account of this conclusion, we will finally need to study the cognitive environment of the translator and his/her audience to gain deeper insights into the ideology of the translation of politically sensitive events and to describe its pragmatic use. The following section will therefore address another insight from contemporary translation studies that can add a very important pragmatic facet to the study of the strategy of discourse shifts in politically motivated translation.

5.3.4.2 Discourse Shifting as a Descriptive Use of Translation (Gutt)

The above theoretical debates have proven that discourse shifts in the translations from Reuters into Arabic or from AFP into Al-Manar are considered as a legitimized linguistic behaviour that can articulate preferred hegemonic readings in the TT. The latter is usually described by these agencies as 'credible', 'relevant' or 'mirrors the political truth' in the Middle East (refer to section 3.6). Allusion has already been made to the concept of relevance in the semiotic and discourse discussions above. That is to say, how users make

sense of realities is bound up with the rich or the biased interpretations of the political sign; the racist premises that make a particular discourse commonsensical; group-membership criteria; or preferred mental models in the receptor language that organize a group's interpretation process. Moreover, it has been concluded that the content of a sensitive political report in the original can be actually seen as evaluative and not factual by default, especially when the ideological beliefs of the foreign text contradict with the target's commonsensical beliefs or social structure.

Looking into the practice of translation on the target pole, skopos theory in particular has enabled discussion of some of the practical factors which are involved in this translation strategy. That is, the goal or intention of translation, the commission, the consumer in mind, intended effects and the translator's accountability eventually determine a translation/text strategy. Against the general background, established in this chapter, we have been able to conclude that discourse shifts are a case of skopos or re-writing that follows a domesticating translation strategy which explicitly treats the foreign text as an offer of information rather than resembling its content, style or moreover its truth criteria (see also cognitive bias in section 4.3).

Viewed in this light, the present study has yet to provide a further inquiry into the political assumptions or beliefs in the target situation. Therefore, the current framework integrates a "relevance-based" account of translation that can explain what relevance this translation strategy intends to achieve in the target text. A relevance/cognitive-oriented account should make possible an explanation of how the ST can become "incidental rather than crucial to the communication act" (Gutt, 2000: 68), especially in the translation of ideologically motivated news reports.

Although Gutt (2000) favours what he terms "an interpretive translation" that resembles the original in the context envisaged for the source, his useful insight on the "use" of translations (i.e. descriptive vs. interpretive) can enhance the current investigation of the numerous facets of the translation and/or text strategy adopted in the present study.

Given Gutt's pragmatic approach that builds on Sperber and Wilson's notion of relevance³⁵ (see section 4.5.6), one has to consider the way a TT "is intended to achieve relevance" which Gutt (2000) relates to two different uses:

- The "**descriptive use**": this relates to entertaining thoughts descriptively "in virtue of their being true of some state of affairs" (Gutt, 2000: 58), in other words, how one truthfully describes the real world by representing his/her own views and committing to their political truth, for instance, how Al-Manar translation represents the Palestinian fighter as *martyr* is intended to communicate in its "own right" without representing the views or the thinking of AFP/western discourses.

Looking into the practice of translation, Gutt distinguishes a **descriptive use of translation** that is intended to survive on its own without the target audience's awareness of the original.

In the present case, the viewers of Al-Manar are not aware of an AFP text that has its own ideological position and naming strategies (e.g. *security fence*, *the suicide bomber*, *the Israeli authorities*, etc...). What matters to the translator here is the abstract information content and the description of events. The latter might be presented descriptively by the translator and the editors in the sense that the fence narration should reflect the firm ideological position of the target situation which is believed to be true of this politically sensitive event. A translation with the descriptive use of e.g. '*the so-called security fence*, *the martyr*, *the occupation authorities*' is thus more beneficial, felicitous and accepted by Al-Manar's large audience, for they equally reflect their own beliefs of the event.

Given the other contextual constraints above, i.e. skopos, power relations and the influence of patronage, it can be said that a strategy that follows a descriptive use in politically sensitive translations avoids what can be seen in the target situation as political offence. It also achieves relevance in its own right, especially when the ideological assumptions of the source clash with those of the target situation. This cognitive matter sheds more light on the subjective role of translators in either charting the assumptions of foreign discourses or charting their own national assumptions. This actually interprets

³⁵ Section 4.5.6 discusses relevance in human communication. The theory states that one observes relevance by achieving maximum benefit at minimum processing cost for the intended audience.

what Al-Manar editors call ‘*a translation that mirrors political facts in the Arabic society*’ (refer to section 3.6). In other words a translation that is loyal to lived political experiences in the target situation where shifts in this case are believed to be commonsensical.

- The “**interpretive use**”: this use in translation relates to entertaining thoughts interpretively, i.e. how one faithfully represents or conveys the thinking or the position of a reporter from Reuters.

Looking into the practice of translation, the study of an **interpretive use of translation** has to examine for instance how the translation into Reuters Arabic faithfully represents the events and the views of the original text in English Reuters or communicates the “intended interpretation of the original text”, in other words, resembling the narration of events as reported by the original author on, e.g., *Arafat who condemns Jerusalem bombing... Friday’s bombing... what Palestinian Information Minister said*, etc... in addition to producing an interpretation that resembles the intended interpretation and implied meanings of the foreign text, i.e. *Palestinians cause violence and cause Israel to retaliate*. Here, an interpretive translation should preserve the context of the original with an ease of processing by the target readership.

Finally, we need to identify in this section the actual use observed in the final products of Al-Manar and Reuters translations. This will be done by measuring these translations against the intended degrees of resemblance with the source texts as follows:

- The translation is interpretive when it resembles abstract events in the original, for instance, in informing the audience about a specific political event, the participants in the event, what they generally said, what processes took place, when and where.
- The translation is descriptive when it faithfully presents the hegemonic views or ideological positions of the Arab audience and not those found in the ST; to illustrate, APP/Reuters’ descriptions of Palestinian violence, suicide or terrorism interpretively resemble the thoughts or ideological assumptions of western institutions. However, a claim made by AFP/Reuters that intends to achieve its own hegemonic interpretation in the source environment is not channelled or

communicated innocently or interpretively by the Arabic translators. In this case Al-Manar translators do not commit fully to the truth of foreign media propositions nor to the logonomic system of western knowledge, especially when these contradict their own political position.

As a result, it can be said that discourse shifts seen in modality, transitivity and other textual practices in the present study are entertained as true thoughts held by Al-Manar/Reuters Arabic translators or editors, especially when skopos does not require direct access to the original. Ironically, the descriptive use of translation in the receptor language text can be said to resemble interpretively the political thoughts of the Arab institutions.

In conclusion of this section, the shifting observed in the current study is “intended to communicate in its own right, and to be read and understood as such” (Gutt, 2000: 61) without representing the hegemonic thinking of western discourses. It can be noted here that the hegemonic code of the foreign text is a crucial factor determining the type of pragmatic use in translation or the translation strategy.

As one notes, the ideological and ethical role of the translator seen via discourse shifts or the descriptive use of translation leads to new debates on ideology and cognition in translation studies. That is to say, promoting a specific descriptive use by the target commission or patronage seems to achieve, in some cases, optimal political benefits in the target situation. This is a phenomenon that should not be sidelined by translation studies. Only by studying it from a critical point of view, can we begin to understand more facts about actual and daily translations in the media or even arrive at an understanding of the particular pressures that seem to influence the translator’s decision. This might call into question the prescriptive approaches that advocate a particular translation strategy or techniques determined only by the facts of the original. However, to validate all these conclusions we still need to test empirically both the contextual and textual features of the source texts and the target texts in order to develop generalisable facts about the study of sensitive discourses. We reserve this discussion for Chapter 6.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

It has been observed that the translations of politically sensitive events into the Arab media deliberately exclude the ideological position of the original text. Also, these translations seem to show a struggle over language and legitimacy rather than just measuring them against the degree of linguistic, cultural or ideological correspondence with the source texts.

Furthermore, it was observed that the translator tends to solve political and moral issues in the translational act rather than merely lending himself/herself to constraints related to linguistic differences in terms of grammar, semantics, pragmatics or register. From a myriad of normative possibilities that s/he could have opted for, the translator chooses a discontinuous strategy to the parameters set by the prescriptive or normative approaches to translation.

Therefore, rather than just accounting for theories that call for equivalent effects, an alternative framework had to be sought equally to account for the new effect and intended function created by translation shifts during times of political crises. In other words, the proposed framework in this chapter has tried to distinguish between a normative approach and a descriptive or target-oriented approach that can explain shifts in their own right. It must be noted here that we have integrated in our descriptive model the ideas of theoreticians (e.g. Venuti or Gutt) who encourage access to the original. However, Venuti's and Gutt's insights about other translation strategies (i.e. domesticating or descriptive) have been illuminating insights that can explain the motivated shifts which happen in politically sensitive texts.

We also arrived at the conclusion that discourse shifts must be determined and constrained by the actual *skopos* which decides on what gets translated and how. Therefore, this important constraint that was seen to be sustained by hegemonic and cognitive contexts will be integrated in our final analysis scheme of Chapter 6.

Our framework of section 5.3 has also concluded that a domesticated translation strategy or more precisely the descriptive use of translation is powerful in that it contributes to the reproduction of the target language cognitive and power structures. It also indicated that the translator plays a powerful role in society for s/he does not innocently consume the

hegemonic orders of the foreign text; rather s/he keeps his/her fingers on the pulse of ideology during the whole translation process of a politically sensitive discourse.

Moreover, our cognition-related study has indicated that the translator firmly believes in the shifts seen so far, for they convey the views and positions of what his/her elite and audience believe to be true of the sensitive political event. From this line of argument, the importance of studying the cognitive element of context along with hegemony and skopos in the analysis of translation is reiterated.

Although the constraints of hegemony, cognition and skopos of the target texts are considered useful elements in our study, they cannot, however, offer a detailed linguistic model of analysis that can verify their arguments about translation processes or products. For this reason, it is suggested that a discourse-oriented study of translation inspired by comparative translation models, as seen in section 5.2.2 (i.e. House, Nord, Hatim and Mason), and as discussed at length in Chapter 4, should inform the analyst on how best to analyse sensitivity or the descriptive use in politically motivated translations. In this context, and based on a discourse study of translation, our next chapter will set up a broad and practical scheme that can analyse and compare texts according to:

- the contextual constraints of dominant hegemony, power relations, cognitive models, and commission;
- the textual practices they actually display.

CHAPTER 6

THE ANALYSIS OF CONTEXTUAL AND TEXTUAL SHIFTS IN THE TRANSLATION OF POLITICALLY SENSITIVE TEXTS

6.1 Introduction to the Corpus

The corpus of this study was chosen to represent one dominant genre (political reporting) and to ensure that the data taken from western and Arab media agencies are, in principle, comparable. The political texts represent the main crisis events which have taken place in the Middle East since the year 2000. The chosen texts basically report violent events between Arabs and Israelis, accusations and counter-accusations from both sides, the victims who have fallen from both sides of the conflict, US efforts to bring an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the building of a fence between Israelis and Palestinians, and political relations between the US administration, Israelis and Arabs.

The first set of texts comprises six texts taken from Reuters (English) along with their counterpart Reuters texts in Arabic (refer to the list in Appendix A). Reuters is one of the largest international multi-media news agencies, reporting extensively from around the world on topics ranging from financial markets to general and political news including news in extremely sensitive regions. These news reports are usually published and updated on the internet for western-orientated recipients. Reuters has also launched the Reuters Arabic Online Report, a comprehensive multimedia publication for Arabic medium publishers around the world. Reuters Arabic enables Arabic clients to receive “tailored Arabic content created for the needs and interests of Middle East audiences”, according to Reuters Arabic Online Report (see www.itp.net). The Arabic texts of Reuters are worthy of attention for the translation shifts displayed. It must be mentioned here that the Arabic representations in the main corpus are the actual translations of the English source texts found on the internet by the author (refer to headings in Appendix A). This was confirmed with Reuters’ representatives in Beirut who were interviewed during the course of text analysis. It must be explained here that the target texts in Arabic are displayed on the internet in their own right for the Arabic reader and without giving the source texts as references. Therefore, searching for the source texts on the web was a difficult task for the author. This is due to the fact that the original texts in English which were translated into different languages including Arabic may not be always made available for the public on the internet. This restriction in access explains why the main

corpus is limited in size. However, to gain more insights into the study of the Reuters texts which the author has collected on the ME conflict, and to be fully versed in the study of politically sensitive texts in the media, it is important to ensure that the relevant contexts are brought into focus with the media editors, journalists and translators themselves. For this reason, the present study has equally resorted to the methodology of interviewing representatives from important media agencies in the Middle East (refer to Appendix D) as they are involved in producing or distributing these texts. This methodology will give our analysis the descriptions and the interpretations they merit (relate to sections 3.6 and 6.2.5). During the course of analysis in this chapter, we shall be integrating the interpretations and explanations given by commissioners and translators because their experiences, knowledge and interactions with their respective audiences constitute meaningful properties of the contexts and functional linguistic choices which this research aims to both explore and describe.

The second set of texts comprises five texts produced by Agence France Presse (AFP) and their Al-Manar translations in Arabic. These texts were given to the author by Al-Manar translators. The AFP texts represent the source texts used by Al-Manar translators to produce Al-Manar's target texts which handle the same politically sensitive event (refer to Appendix A). AFP is another leading news and photo agency and is considered to be one of the world's oldest established news agencies. It caters for the information one watches on television, hears on the radio or reads in newspapers. Like Reuters, AFP has correspondents and headquarters in many countries across the world. AFP texts were included in our main corpus to validate our qualitative analysis of politically sensitive discourses in western media, whereas Al-Manar texts were included because they overtly express a counter-ideology to western discourses as will be explored via the analysis of shifts in translation. The choice of target representations from Al-Manar TV, i.e. translations which simultaneously reflect the established political beliefs of the target elite and audience, will add to the critical understanding of the urgent contextual factors and text strategy that need to be examined in political discourse studies. Al-Manar is a leading Arabic TV satellite station with an estimated audience of 19 million worldwide. It has been able in a short period of time (since the year 2000) to occupy a leading position among other Arab satellite stations. The channel approaches Arabs and Muslims all over the world with an open unifying voice. The Arabic representations of Al-Manar should provide our corpus with more vivid examples of what actually happens during the

translation of sensitive news reports, and help locate the crucial contextual parameters and text strategies that need to be developed.

It is worth mentioning at this point that gaining access to AFP texts and Al-Manar target texts was not an easy task. This is because conducting research on sensitive topics usually touches on the exercise of power by these agencies. That is to say, access to these data was not easy and required perseverance and lengthy meetings with the professional translators who work for this leading media agency. This again explains the limitation of the number of AFP and Al-Manar texts used in the main corpus. However, Al-Manar translators have also provided additional texts to the author from their English News Bulletin (refer to Appendix B). These supplementary texts provide a focus on context and text in different sections throughout this study. To ensure that we could reach reliable analysis on this complex ideological topic, we also had to rely on lengthy discussions held with Al-Manar editors to discuss the purpose of discourse shifts, the general ideological notions and cognitive beliefs which underlie their productions and the ethical role of the translator (refer to 3.6, 6.2.5 and Appendix D).

In order to further ensure that the analyses of texts produced by Reuters, AFP and Al-Manar are capable of producing generalizable arguments and representative data, it was necessary to investigate the way each event was represented in leading newspapers, whether in the West or in the Middle East. Appendix B references texts which are constrained by the same institutional contexts and cognitive factors identified in the previous chapters. These texts which are taken from different media agencies show similar trends in terms of syntactic, modal and pragmatic choices to create eventually particular ideological effects with regard to ingroups and outgroups. Texts in Appendix B also help give illustrations of how particular textual choices work in particular contexts and how the sensitive event is interpreted by the targeted culture. Although the texts in Appendix B are not part of the main corpus, their analysis could support many of the key arguments and debates raised in this research, especially if one considers how similar cases of transitivity, modality and implied meanings were expressed in news reports issued for instance by the New York Times, the Guardian, Al-Jazeera, or Al-Mustaqbal newspapers. Furthermore, different chapters throughout this study have utilized many examples from the texts featured in Appendix B to interpret and explain many theories, to verify the text strategies adopted in this study and to help us reach generalizable conclusions.

The methods of analysis in the present study encourage the analyst of sensitive topics to develop other important skills and explore additional techniques for analysing sensitive data. Hence, the engaging of university students to give their own analysis on the same texts was another qualitative method used in this study. The students' analysis can be considered as a kind of objective verification of the author's perceptions of the main corpus. In this context, students of translation (from The Languages and Translation Centre of the Lebanese University) were given the main corpus to provide their own explanations as well as linguistic descriptions of the political texts. To attain this objective, it was necessary that students should have an adequate account of contemporary translation theories (similar to those mentioned in Chapter 5) before applying these theories to different text types including the main corpus of this study. The students were exposed to these theories during their first, second and third years of study. In addition, in the author's classes the students were taught Halliday's theory of functional grammar, as well as theories on pragmatics and discourse analysis. The students who worked on the data of this study had to analyse the texts as part of their general course of study without being aware that they were taking part in the present study, in order to give this research the objectivity it requires and to make it more accountable for its generalizations. In general, the role of the students was seen in: producing arguments with regard to the contribution of translation theories to the present study; identifying the type of translation strategy followed in the target texts of the main corpus; giving linguistic descriptions, whether different from or similar to those produced in this study; and in explaining shifts by relating them to moral and political contexts experienced in the Middle East. The excerpts cited in Appendix C reveal that the contextual and textual analyses, explanations and conclusions put forth by the students are very similar to what has been found at the end of this study.

The fact that we have consulted texts from different media sources as well as consulting editors, translators and students to give their independent opinions on the main texts of the corpus enhances our argument about the textual features of politically sensitive texts and whether or not they would cause a threat if relayed intact into the target texts. The analyses carried out by the students have also enhanced our argument about the way particular text strategies (e.g. prevailing trends in transitivity, modality, thematic structuring, lexicalization, politeness strategies or speech acting) can work collectively to incriminate those seen as outgroups and to eventually threaten their political face. Despite the relatively limited size of the main corpus, all these adopted methods eventually

combine to help us support the generalizable findings found in this chapter and the following chapter.

The main analysis in this chapter will be built on a qualitative and not a quantitative approach. Although it was convenient in this case (for both the author and the students) to count all textual and pragmatic features that recur throughout the texts, the main focus of attention is on the qualitative aspects of analysis. This provides contextualized analysis and interpretations, characterizes features that are typically used in a systematic and predictable manner, gives strong evidence from each text, provides functional reasons, and reaches a generalizable method of analysis that can guide similar research.

To ascertain what makes a political discourse “legitimate”, “credible”, “polite”, “true”, “objective”, “communicative” and “relevant” to its target audience as usually described by the media editors and translators whom the author has interviewed (refer to sections 3.6, 5.3.4.2, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 for more details on these descriptions), two interlinked networks are analysed in this chapter:

1- A network of contextual factors which have not received sufficient attention in current translation analysis models on political discourse. We have already defined and explained (see Chapters 2,3,4,5) the subjective, ideological and pragmatic layers of context that operate around shifts in translation in a theoretical way. But this chapter needs to provide a rich methodology that can offer an innovative and dynamic scheme for the analysis of these major contextual factors that impinge on the daily engagement in journalistic translation, especially in the case of sensitive news reporting. Our scheme constitutes the crucial factors that need to be assessed and compared in any discourse-based study. The selected factors or dimensions will be duly characterized and analysed in sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5. Section 6.2.6 concludes the contextual analysis of politically sensitive discourses.

2- A network or complex web of text strategy that should also be integrated in current translation analysis models on political discourse. Here, we will characterize and analyse the most salient structural, textual and pragmatic choices that function collectively in every text as will be explored in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2, 6.3.3, 6.3.4, 6.3.4 and 6.3.5³⁶. The paradigmatic choices made in the target texts will also reveal in detail the translation

³⁶ See the linguistic toolkit introduced in section 4.5.

strategy deliberately adopted by these important media agencies, its function, and whether it creates desired effects for both text producers and text receivers. Section 6.3.6 concludes the main analysis of text strategy followed in a politically sensitive discourse.

6.2 Analysing the Contextual Factors

6.2.1 Dominant Hegemony

As was pointed out in section 3.3, hegemony in political discourse refers to the ruling political and intellectual structures of a society. This covers how the elite rule by consent, how journalists or translators educate themselves in this hegemonic order and how the media invisibly legitimize this power. To examine this situational property, we first have to identify the political institutions likely to govern the corpus productions.

There are many institutions such as family, religion or education, that can reproduce a dominant hegemony but our focus in the current study will be on the role of political institutions/power-holders whose discourses nowadays have a more privileged access to public discourse. To consider the dominant hegemonies encountered in Reuters and AFP texts of the current study, we should first consider dominant scenes from the West that are likely to govern western media societies and discourses. For instance, *the US administration continually warned Arab countries against glorifying terror in state-owned media* (Guardian, 6 April 2002; and Chomsky, 2002). In other words, dominant groups from the West struggle to impose a new discursive structure or dominant order that legitimates “terrorism” discourses in the world media against “martyrdom” discourses. This can be seen clearly via influential speeches given by elite groups in the West which can reach the public and the mass media at large. Consider the following excerpt from a speech given by President Bush:

“Since Sept 11 I’ve delivered this message: everyone must choose. You’re either with the civilized world or you’re with the terrorists. All in the Middle East also must choose and must move decisively in word and deed against terrorist acts. The chairman of the Palestinian Authority has not consistently opposed or confronted terrorists... Given his failure, the Israel government feels it must strike at terrorist networks that are killing its citizens.”

Daily Star, 5 April 2002 (Appendix B).

As we observe, the opinions and discourses of the dominant groups in the West are very likely to be reproduced in western media by leading media editors and reporters. We will observe, for example, in Reuters or AFP, discourses on Palestinian *terrorism/violence*, or

presuppositions of threat coming from Palestinians because the political elite have already made such discourses legitimate. As Van Dijk succinctly puts it, “legitimizing discourse is usually accomplished in institutional contexts” (Van Dijk, 1998: 255). Here the institutional contexts coming from the US administration for example will give Reuters or AFP reporters “good reasons” and legal grounds to legitimate particular discriminatory discourses against Palestinian fighters.

On the other hand, we may consider dominant hegemonies that are likely to govern Arab media discourses including the translational act, for instance, public discourses disseminated by Islamic and Arab foreign ministers during the Islamic conference held in Kuala Lumpur or other summits held by Arab leaders in the Middle East (see section 3.6 for details and references) who give moral grounds and legitimate discourses of: “legitimate opposition”, “blessed Intifada” or “resistance to occupation” versus “terrorism similar to terror attacks carried out on New York” (Reuters 2 April 2002, Appendix B).

These institutional constraints that seem to constitute a fine property within our contextual model of analysis are obviously impinging on the decision of the translator who feels his/her journalistic translation will be more acceptable, commonsensical and relevant if s/he produces the following highlighted expressions or shifts taken from the main corpus in Appendix A. These shifts will show that in a politically motivated discourse the dominated groups, including the translators of the mass media, interiorize their dominant ideology, legitimate, accept and respect its order:

Reuters A: *Palestinian **suicide** attack... **suicide** attack*

TT:

الهجوم

BT: *The **attack***

Reuter B: *To keep a lid on Middle East **Violence***

TT:

تهدئة الوضع في الشرق الاوسط

BT: *To calm **the situation** in the Middle East*

Reuters C: ***Palestinian uprising***

TT:

انتفاضة فلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT: *Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation*

Reuters D: *17 months of violence*

TT:

انتفاضة فلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT: *Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation*

Reuters E: *to stop Israeli-Palestinian violence that has intensified over 18 months*

TT:

لوقف الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي الذي تصاعد منذ تفجر الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي قبل 18 شهرا

BT: *to stop the Palestinian-Israeli struggle that has intensified since the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation over 18 months.*

Reuters F: *bomber networks*

TT: **deleted.**

The general observations indicate that shifts effected into Reuters Arabic avoid producing a foreign hegemony that legitimizes a discourse of Palestinian violence, i.e. there is no equivalence achieved at this hegemonic level. The hegemonic polarization seen in the TT avoids describing Palestinian acts as violent and legitimates a new discourse on occupation. This maintains the prevalent moral and political orders in the Arab world which commonly believe in the Palestinian's legitimate right to resistance. The shifts accord with the institutional constraint discussed above that overtly delegitimizes occupation of Arab lands.

AFP A: *Israel... building a security fence ... the official frontier between Israel and a future Palestinian state.*

TT:

سلطات الاحتلال... قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية... ما تسميه جدارا امنيا... الحدود الرسمية بين الأراضي المحتلة عام ثمانية وأربعين والأراضي الخاضعة لسيطرة السلطة الفلسطينية

BT: *The occupying authorities... land grabbing... what they call a security fence... the official frontier between territories occupied since 1948 and the territories under the control of the Palestinian authority.*

AFP B: *Israeli soldiers killed three Palestinians... the radical Islamic movement Hamas...*

TT:

استشهد ثلاثة فلسطينيين برصاص جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني... حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس...

BT: *Three Palestinian were martyred by the bullets of the Zionist occupying army... the Islamic **resistance** movement Hamas.*

AFP C: *Lebanon's Shiite Muslim **Fundamentalist Movement Hezbollah**.*

TT:

حزب الله

BT: ***Hezbollah***

AFP D: *Burns called here for calm on Lebanon's border with **Israel**... and for support of Washington's strategy for **peace** between Israel and the Palestinians.*

TT:

بيرنز دعا الى الهدوء على الخط الأزرق بين لبنان وفلسطين المحتلة ودعم الجهود الأميركية من أجل إعادة اطلاق عملية التسوية في المنطقة

BT: *Burns called for calm on the blue line between Lebanon and **occupied Palestine** and for support of US efforts to **re-launch the settlement process in the area**.*

AFP E: ***Israeli troops** vs. **occupying forces** in the TT.*

قوات الاحتلال

Al-Manar's texts obviously do not channel the system of ideas, world view, or consensus found in AFP with regard to the fighting groups, legality of the fence, lands in the Middle East or even the prevailing orders of US in the Middle East. What is seen as legal power, legal land or a legal act in the ST becomes illegal in the TT and vice versa. In other words, legitimate concepts defined by power holders or the institutional constraints of the West and then reproduced in AFP become delegitimated via discourse shifting. For example, what is morally and legally accepted as *a security fence* to protect the state of Israel, or what is accepted as *a peace process* by the US in AFP is deconstructed by Al-Manar translators. New discourses in the Arabic media take over in order to show that the participants in this process are *occupiers*, the fence building is another *occupation* act, or that the *peace process* is another *settlement process* with foreign conditions at the expense of Arab lands.

Both Reuters Arabic and Al-Manar's target texts produce counter-hegemonic readings to their target audiences regardless of the fact that they are more visible in Al-Manar's texts. Obviously, the first contextual factor shown by this study indicates that dominant hegemonies are latent in a politically sensitive discourse. The fact that the ST dominant hegemony is not relayed into the TT confirms its powerful legitimate function for a particular society. The delegitimizing of the source text hegemonies will be spelled out later in more detail when the text strategy, specifically the collocational system is analysed.

6.2.2 Interpellation of Subjects

This is another layer of context that is related to hegemony, for it expresses dominant political orders in society but with a special function capable of constructing the participants in the news event in a very subjective manner. Members of a society become subjects (i.e. with subject position or ideological identity) only after they have been "hailed" or "interpellated" as such by their ruling apparatuses (see section 3.2). To think of a particular participant as a threat object is to construct him/her continually in the media either as *terrorist* or *occupier* to whom the text producer can threaten his/her face. This situational parameter has to be examined in the translation of a political discourse in order to see how this ideological factor is being either heeded or resisted.

The following examples will analyse the representation of subject positions in the texts of English Reuters vs. Reuters Arabic, AFP vs. Al-Manar in order to show how the underlying ideology of the media can subjectify or interpellate them as powerful, less powerful, victimized or dangerous subjects:

Reuters A& B:

Israeli subjects:

Israeli forces, Israeli army (powerful and internationally recognized subjects)

Reuters Arabic (TT):

الهجوم الاسرائيلي، قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي، الجيش الاسرائيلي

BT: ***Israeli attack, Israeli occupying forces, Israeli army*** (powerful and yet threatening subjects).

Palestinian subjects in ST:

Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat's Palestinian authority, woman bomber (Palestinian authorities are less powerful and their fighters are dangerous for they could be female bombers).

TT:

الرئيس الفلسطيني، الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات والسلطة الفلسطينية، شابة فلسطينية

BT: ***Palestinian President, Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian authority, young Palestinian woman*** (The Palestinian authority is more respected and their leader is subjectified as President, the woman is interpellated as young but not criminal).

Suicide bombers, militants are often deleted from Reuters Arabic in order to avoid continually subjectifying them as ethically groundless without a cause, as thought in the West.

Reuters C:

Palestinian subjects:

The head of the Palestinian group's military wing (illegal subject)

TT:

قائد سرايا القدس الجناح العسكري للحركة

BT: ***The leader of Jerusalem's brigade, the military wing of the Jihad movement*** (legal subject with recognized authority in the M.E.)

Reuters D:

A Palestinian suicide bomber (dangerous subject)

TT:

فلسطيني، فلسطينية

BT : ***Palestinian, Palestinian woman*** (human and fighting subjects)

Reuters E & F:

Militant attacks, Palestinians in Jenin, a stronghold of militants (dangerous subjects)

TT:

هجمات النشطاء، الفلسطينيون في جنين

BT: ***Activists' attacks, Palestinians in Jenin*** (legal fighters)

AFP A:

Israeli subjects:

Israel, Israeli Defence Minister, Israeli authorities

(legal and powerful authorities)

TT:

سلطات الاحتلال، وزير حرب العدو، أواسط الاحتلال

BT: ***Occupying authorities, the enemy's Minister of War, occupying circles*** (a dangerous enemy).

Palestinian subjects in AFP A:

Armed Palestinians, "Palestinian terrorists" (when Palestinians are interpellated as dangerous we observe their automatic omission from the TT).

AFP B:

Israeli subjects:

Israeli soldiers, an Israeli army spokesman, Israeli troops, soldiers (legal authorities or State Apparatuses)

TT:

جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني، متحدث عسكري صهيوني، جنود الاحتلال، الجنود الصهاينة

BT: ***Zionist occupying army, Zionist military spokesman, occupying soldiers, Zionist soldiers*** (dangerous and occupying authorities).

Palestinian subjects:

Wanted militants (dangerous Palestinian subjects with illegal authority). Deleted from the TT.

Activist in the ST becomes ***the martyr*** الشهيد in the TT to portray Palestinian victims as noble subjects.

AFP C:

Israeli subjects:

Israel, Israel's domestic security service (legal and powerful institutions).

TT:

كيان العدو، أجهزة الأمن الصهيونية

BT: ***The enemy's entity, the Zionist security services*** (dangerous institutions).

Arab subjects:

Lebanon's Shiite fundamentalist Movement Hezbollah, the militant group. These dangerous and illegal subjects are translated as *Hezbollah* in the TT. Hezbollah is recognized as a legal and powerful party in the M.E. They are usually hailed as heroes in public media discourses in the M.E.

A network of collaborators (illegal and threatening Arab subjects). Deleted from the TT.

AFP E:

A Palestinian teenager (human subject).

TT:

شابا فلسطينيا، الشهيد

BT: *A young Palestinian, the martyr* (interpellated as noble human subject or victim of occupation).

Reuters examples clearly show that Israelis are hailed as powerful and legitimate authorities, whereas Palestinians fighters are hailed as a dangerous group. Reuters translations into Arabic tend to hail Israelis as occupiers on a few occasions, whereas Palestinians fighters are not seen to be hailed as illegal subjects.

AFP examples hail Israelis as powerful and legitimate authorities, whereas Palestinian or Arab fighters are hailed as dangerous or fundamentalists.

Al-Manar's texts hail Israelis as dangerous occupiers, illegal forces and expansionists, whereas Arab victims are hailed as martyrs or victims of occupation.

The overall effect in the target texts removes the foreign subjectivity towards Arab/Israeli subjects, as the ideological apparatuses in the Arab world give different social identities and emotional feelings to subjects involved in this struggle. This contextual factor will be seen more evidently during our analysis of transitivity where actors who are clearly hailed as dangerous or illegal will be syntactically foregrounded in a predictable manner to reflect this subjective property of context. The interpellation of subjects will also reflect upon the collocational and politeness choices made in the politically sensitive text.

6.2.3 Power and Solidarity Relations

In addition to the analysis of institutional constraints and interpellation systems in this study, it is now necessary to analyse the relations between these subjects as determined by the dominant hegemonies. The relations between subjects have been investigated in Chapter 4 within the interpersonal function where communicants express relations of **power** in terms of distance, enmity or superiority and relations of **solidarity** in terms of tolerance, sympathy with particular victims or blurring of power differences. This section will show what control is being claimed by the media agency over what illegal subjects, and what solidarity relations are being emphasized. The analysis of power differentials or ideologically based inequalities will make us specify another contextual property of politically motivated discourse that inevitably influences the text producer's linguistic choices, as will be further explored under modality and pragmatic analysis.

Reuters A:

Arafat accused the Israeli forces of committing "massacres and slaughters"

This representation reflects the voice of the journalist who is suppressing what Arafat actually said in order to blur power differences with Israelis who have been already constructed as legal subjects in the text. On the other hand, the target text displays hostility towards Israeli subjects and conversely sympathizes with Palestinian victims by restoring Arafat's full condemnation of Israelis:

TT:

ولكن ادانة الرئيس الفلسطيني شملت الهجوم الاسرائيلي ايضا فقال في البيان " ندين بقوة وبشدة المذبحة والمجازر التي ارتكبتها وترتكبها قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي ضد المدنيين واللاجئين الفلسطينيين في مدينة نابلس ومخيم جنين وضد كنيسة المهد في بيت لحم وغيرها من المناطق الفلسطينية على مدى الاسبوعين الماضيين".

BT:

But the Palestinian President's condemnation included the Israeli offensive as well. He said in the statement "We strongly and firmly condemn the carnage and massacres that have been and are being committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian civilians and refugees in Nablus town and Jenin camp and against Al-Mahd church in Bethlehem and other Palestinian areas over the past two weeks."

The ST also claims power and superiority over Palestinian subjects. This is observed via the following representations:

ST: *Powell was examining Arafat's statement, which was issued in Arabic as US officials had urged.*

TT:

بأول يدرس بيان عرفات الذي صدر باللغة العربية كما طلبت الإدارة الأمريكية

BT: *Powell was examining Arafat's statement, which was issued in Arabic as US officials had requested.*

The TT seems to resist the level of superiority that forces Palestinian leaders to follow the directives of the powerful. The TT also tends to minimize distance with Arab subjects involved in the struggle by resorting to other types of shifts, such as:

ST: *Powell got a first-hand view of the carnage*, vs.

TT:

وألقى بأول نظرة على موقع الانفجار

BT: *Powell got a view of the blast site.*

Again, shifting avoids portraying an overt hostility towards the act of violence perpetrated by Palestinian bombers, and simultaneously avoids displaying the same level of sympathy towards Israeli victims. The translation consistently strives to blur power differences with Palestinian subjects if we also consider how the woman actor has been removed from the direct scene of violence:

ST: *The blast detonated by a woman bomber left the area strewn with pools of blood...*

TT:

وأدى الانفجار الى برك من الدماء...

BT: *The blast resulted in pools of blood.*

Instead, the woman actor is thematized at the beginning of the Arabic text and is portrayed as being the first young victim who is affected by this process before the targeted victims:

ST: *a Palestinian suicide attack that killed 6 people*

TT:

شابة فلسطينية فجرت نفسها وقتلت ستة اسرائيليين

BT: *a young Palestinian woman who blew herself up and killed 6 Israelis.*

The translation carries a different hegemonic meaning that claims a kind of solidarity with Palestinian people who blow themselves up to fight occupation rather than merely incriminating them. This is again inspired by the claims of the elite for resistance against occupation. This solidarity relation was expressed more overtly in many Arab media agencies when this event took place. For instance, the same woman bomber has been

described as a *martyr who blew herself up killing 6 and injuring 89* (Al-Mustaqbal; Al-Kifah AlArabi, 13 April 2002, Appendix B).

The discourse of distance and power over Palestinians that is seen to be a sensitive issue in the target situation, can be further seen through the following hyperboles (i.e. overstatements) which, according to Fairclough (1995a), reflect “an authority-based discourse”:

ST: *The latest bombing raised questions about whether the army was achieving its mission of **rooting out** suicide bombers.*

The metaphor borrowed from the domain of “threatening plants” (Van Dijk, 1998) to legitimate the greater authority of Israeli subjects and to express hostility towards Palestinian fighters is deleted from the TT. The shift clearly avoids producing an unfavourable response from the new audience.

Distance from Israeli voices is equally observed in the target situation if we consider the omission of Sharon’s voice from the TT:

ST: *Sharon countered by saying there “cannot be peace with terror”.*

TT: omitted.

Reuters B:

Displays more examples on authoritarian discourses that seem to draw upon what Fairclough (1995a) and Fowler (1991) call a discourse of “animal control” or “disciplinary discourse” where the behaviour of dissidents has to be corrected by an exasperated authority:

ST: *Israel has responded to previous attacks **with tough army offensives** that have seemed as much intended to **punish** Yasser Arafat’s Palestinian authority **as to strike at the militant groups that have carried out the bombings.***

TT:

وكانت اسرائيل ردت على الهجمات السابقة بهجمات عنيفة هدفها معاقبة الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات والسلطة الفلسطينية

BT: *Israel has responded to previous attacks **with tough offensives** intended to **punish the Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian authority.***

The TT shows that Israel is merely punishing the Palestinian authorities. By deleting the other subjects (i.e. militant groups) whose violent behaviour necessitates this disciplinary discourse by Israel, the translation claims more hostility in the target situation towards Israel.

ST: Tanks **stormed** Arafat's presidential compound and **penned him in** for 10 days...

Israel held to its policy of blaming the Palestinian authority for failing to **rein in** militants...

Reuters C:

Sawalha was shot dead by Israeli troops **during a sweep** for militants.

Reuters D:

Jenin has been raided in an effort **to crush** suspected bomber networks.

The above metaphors that give a great deal of power to legal and powerful subjects (i.e. Israel) over punished or marginalized Palestinians are all omitted from Reuters translations into Arabic. The shifting consistently minimizes distance with Palestinian subjects to emphasize a different system of inequality.

Shifts at the level of solidarity relations can be further seen through the following representations:

Reuters B:

*Adding to the gloomy mood of **Israelis**...*

TT:

ومما اضاف الى الجو القاتم في اسرائيل

BT: *Adding to the gloomy mood **in Israel**...*

The shift minimizes relations of solidarity with Israeli subjects who have been already constructed in the target situation as opponents.

Reuters C:

*An ambulance worker said the **Israelis** were caught in gunfire in an alley leading from the shrine to settler enclaves.*

This Israeli voice has been removed from the TT to express least solidarity with Israeli victims.

AFP A:

*Israel will start building a **security** fence to **thwart** Palestinian attacks... Israel has come to view the West Bank as a **launching pad** for suicide attacks.*

The ST basically shows that Israel is exercising its powerful and legitimate authority over illegal Palestinian subjects. The various linguistic expressions claim the right for defence against dangerous participants.

On the other hand, the TT rejects these power differentials and produces a different stance by adding expressions to the translation such as:

قضم الأراضي، ما تسميه جداراً أمنياً

BT: ***Grabbing of lands, what they call a security fence.***

Furthermore, the TT deletes all descriptions that create distance and hostility towards Palestinian fighters. The basic ideological claim for power being portrayed in the target situation emphasizes a discourse of occupation and enmity by illegal subjects who are trying to seize by force more Palestinian lands. This descriptive representation that creates overt hostility towards Israeli subjects will be further explored under the analysis of text strategy.

The same AFP text mirrors the voices of many legal Israeli participants (e.g. the voices of *Israeli defence ministry, senior military officials and political spectrums*) vs. one *Palestinian official's* voice given at the very end of the text. This complexity of voices is interwoven to emphasize superiority over Palestinian participants in the text. The oppositional discourse in the target situation discredits the legitimized voices of Israelis by deleting them, raising doubts about them, or by creating a dialogic interaction with the Arab audience such as:

بحجة اقامة ما تسميه جداراً أمنياً

BT: ***under the pretext of what they call a security fence.***

AFP B:

*Israeli troops wound down a lengthy operation in Nablus designed to **round up wanted militants**.*

AFP discourse asserts relations of domination and a strong exercise of power over illegal dissidents, whereas the representation in Al-Manar claims relations of oppression by

‘colonialists’ or illegal subjects, thus emphasizing overt hostility against Israeli subjects and overt solidarity with Palestinian victims as follows:

TT:

وانسحب جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني من نابلس حيث شن عدوانا واسعا عليها

BT: *The Zionist occupying army withdrew from Nablus where they launched a lengthy aggression.*

ST: *Kherewesh had been killed... Attari had been killed... Kassas had been shot*

Here, the ST tries to blur distance from Israeli participants by removing their direct agency from violent scenes of fighting.

TT:

جنود الاحتلال قتلوا الشهيد خرويش

BT: *The occupying army killed martyr Kherewesh...*

Al-Manar’s representation continues to emphasize an oppositional discourse by exacerbating power differences with Israeli subjects, who are continually incriminated, and by claiming high degrees of intimacy towards Palestinian victims.

AFP C:

The militant group tasked him with developing a rapport with a senior Israeli officer

TT:

وأدعت أجهزة الأمن الصهيونية أن حزب الله طلب من المتهم إقامة علاقات مع ضابط صهيوني كبير

BT: *The Zionist security services claimed that Hezbollah tasked the accused with developing a rapport with a senior Zionist officer...*

The form of power-display in AFP shows relations of superiority over illegal subjects such as Hezbollah, whereas the shifts in translation continue to discredit Israeli subjects who have been already hailed as dangerous in the target situation.

The above analyses examining relations between subjects as well as claims for power or solidarity can be best summarized in table 6.1:

Media text	Relations with Israeli and US Subjects	Relations with Arab Subjects
Reuters English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An authority-based discourse given to US and Israel to discipline dissidents. - Solidarity relations with Israeli victims/ voices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A discourse of threatening animals or plants is being observed against Arab participants. - Palestinian participants are marginalized or punished.
Reuters Arabic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ideological claim for resistance against occupation is observed. - Less solidarity with Israeli victims/ voices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relations of dominance over Palestinian subjects are de-emphasized or removed. - Minimizes/ removes hostility towards Palestinian bombers. - Blurs differences with all Arab participants and restores Arab voices.
AFP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasizes superiority over Arab dissidents and claims for Israel's right to self-defence. - Foregrounds Israeli voices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates distance and hostility towards Arab fighters/ bombers.
Al-Manar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasizes relations of distance and enmity and claims for resistance and martyrdom against occupation. - Discredits Israeli and US voices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Overt solidarity with Arab fighters and victims.

Table 6.1 Power and solidarity relations between subjects in the present study

6.2.4 Cognition

Enacted hegemonies and power relations emphasized and legitimated by power-holders in a particular society cannot be sustained if people do not find them “credible” or “commonsensical”. Here, we refer to what Al-Manar editors and Reuters representatives explain about this context. Al-Manar editors believe that the news report must be based on the generalized beliefs of the Arabs and Muslims themselves, where issues like identity, different political positions and shared knowledge about reasons for this conflict cannot be ignored in the final representation of a news report. Reuters representatives in Beirut used the word “credibility” in the sense that they try to relay to the Arab reader information that does not offend their own belief systems nor their identity, especially since Reuters Arabic caters for an Arab audience, culture and market. A credible translation of a sensitive event in Reuters is an act that does not take sides or show bias to the Arab recipient, according to Reuters representatives.

This cognitive and interpretative aspect of context has been introduced throughout the current study under a number of semiotic, ideological and pragmatic conditions, such as the subjective interpretation of the sign, common sense, group schemata, member resources, ideological assumptions and the principle of relevance.

Although the analysis of mental interpretation and representation is a complex matter, we will attempt in this section to capture some of the salient and successful practices that can render a sensitive political text in Reuters, AFP or Al-Manar commonsensical and credible to both text producers and receivers. Our analysis will focus upon the taken-for-granted beliefs and the uncontested shared knowledge that the text producer shares or would like to share with his/her audience³⁷ about facts in the M.E. In order to test this mental/cognitive dimension of context in our analysis of political discourse³⁸, the generalized ideological assumptions and shared background knowledge in each media agency have to be made visible. That is, we have to examine the built-in-belief and knowledge systems, especially those which, according to Van Dijk (1984), generalize negative opinions about outgroups without the possibility of being rejected by their

³⁷ Refer to the previous discussion of denaturalizing of signs (2.4.2) where deconstruction can make one understand the realities of these fixed ideological codes that subjectively influence one’s interpretation of a political event.

³⁸ Refer to Van Dijk’s conception of cognitive bias and mental models in section 4.3.

respective audiences. Consider the following taken-for-granted components found in each media agency:

Reuters A:

The text generalizes assumptions of *violence, Palestinian suicide attacks, the carnage* caused by a woman bomber, *suicide bombings* and *the Palestinian public's support for revenge attacks against Israel* that cause the killing of Israeli people. It also gives background knowledge, evidence or illustrations about these general beliefs when representations are made on other suicide bombing incidents that *killed 28 people in an Israeli hotel, or a bombing on a bus near Haifa that killed 8 Israelis*. The negative beliefs about Palestinian fighters are generalized throughout the text to create a main reason for this conflict and to organize a specific schema or conventional knowledge structure to exist in the memory of the recipients about M.E. events, thus constructing particular beliefs about people involved in this struggle and knowledge about this event which lead to specific interpretations. This is related to Van Dijk's concept of "mental models" where recipients "construct a model of such an event" (Van Dijk, 1998: 79) that accords with similar knowledge given in daily western media about suicide bombing events. This "subjective representation of an episode" (ibid: 81) obviously has its own ideological assumptions and beliefs that become shared knowledge and will be recalled when a similar event is activated by the same media agency. The shifts in translation happen when these constructed and generalized beliefs clash with the experiences, social memory and subjective interpretations that are constructed differently in the target situation. Consider the following generalized beliefs and subjective representations observed in the TT:

Reuters Arabic tends to generalize assumptions of الهجوم (*the attack*) without further negative representations as found in the ST. The negative structures about Palestinian violence are seen to be either re-lexicalized or deleted (see text strategy, section 6.3). Furthermore, the TT deletes the background knowledge given on other suicide bombing incidents as well as the knowledge structure given on the Palestinian public's support for revenge. The shifts indicate that there are different belief systems and epistemic knowledge about the real cause of struggle that are shared between the translator/editor and his/her targeted audience. The general abstract belief in the Arab world presupposes that the cause of threat is *occupation* and that Palestinian attacks come as a result. The Arab audience is likely to recall different subjective memories that are usually pro-

Palestinian. Hence, the discursive beliefs of *suicide* and *revenge* carried out by Palestinians and being normalized in the ST will therefore be interpreted as irrelevant or non-credible if relayed intact into the target's media. In simple terms, shifting seems to avoid putting the Arab audience through unnecessary processing effort that will clash with their conventional knowledge and general opinion constructed about this episode.

On the other hand, the same Reuters text in English generalizes assumptions of *onslaught*, *campaign* or *mission to root out bombers* caused by Israeli participants. Assumptions of massacres and slaughters caused by Israelis are scare quoted and given an evaluative belief, i.e. the reporter represents them as *an allegation*:

ST: *Arafat accused the Israeli forces of committing "massacres and slaughters"... an allegation the army has denied.*

Another observation is seen in the assumption underlying "*a campaign that has killed at least 200 Palestinians*". Here, the reporter seems not to represent this event as carnage, like we have seen in the Palestinian's case but as a campaign or mission that comes as a result of suicide bombings. Further, the mental representation of the killing event is supported by Sharon's reason/ voice: "*there cannot be peace with terror*". This overall cognitive representation is very likely to be interpreted by an Arab recipient as a biased one. Therefore, the translator and the commission tend to produce a counter-schematic structure in Reuters Arabic as follows:

الهجوم الاسرائيلي، العمليات العسكرية، الحملة العسكرية

BT: *The Israeli attack... the military operations... the military campaign...*

Basically, the TT does not delete any assumptions of attacks or campaigns caused by Israelis. *The Israeli attack* is repeated throughout the Arabic text, *the military operations* and *military campaign* are all relayed into the TT without any omission. But the TT deletes the assumption of *allegation*, *to root out bombers*, and deletes Sharon's reason above because these truth criteria do not fit into the generalized beliefs or shared general knowledge of the Arabs who have different evaluations of Israeli military campaigns. The Arab audience does not commonly believe that massacres are *allegations* nor do they believe that it is *Palestinian terror* that causes Israeli military campaigns. The underlying ideological assumption that monitors shifts at the textual or pragmatic level stems from the Arabs' common belief that Israel's onslaughts and operations are related to its *occupation* policy. This is a very sensitive factor that seems to influence shifts in

translation at various levels. We see for example, that the Arabic text restores Arafat's full quotation that represents Israeli attacks as *massacres* committed by the *occupying army* (see the full quotation in previous section).

Similar examples can be found in other Reuters texts:

Reuters B:

Israel has responded to previous attacks with tough army offensives intended to punish Arafat's authority as to strike at the militant groups that have carried out the bombings.

The ST maintains negative beliefs about the militant groups that cause Israel's attacks, whereas, the Arabic translation retains the first ideological belief that army offensives intend to punish Arafat and his authority but deletes negative assumptions and reasons given in the background information about militant groups and bombings. The effect on the Arab audience will show that Israel merely punishes Palestinians without providing the justification or belief given in the original text. The following may be considered:

TT:

وكانت اسرائيل ردت على الهجمات السابقة بهجمات عنيفة هدفها معاقبة الرئيس الفلسطيني والسلطة الفلسطينية

BT: *Israel has responded to previous attacks with tough offensives intended to punish the Palestinian President and the Palestinian authority.*

Another shift at the level of ideological assumptions is found in:

ST: *Israel held to its policy of blaming the Palestinian authority for the attack... the Palestinians again denied this.*

The translation of this excerpt adds negative beliefs that confirm subjective representations in the Arab world about Israel as follows:

وحمل مسؤولون اسرائيليون كالعادة السلطة الفلسطينية مسؤولية الهجوم رغم نفي رئيسها ياسر عرفات لهذه الاتهامات...

BT: *Israeli officials as usual have held the Palestinian authority responsible for the attack in spite of President Yasser Arafat's denial of these accusations...*

Here, the TT adds the assumption of *accusations* in addition to previous assumptions of *occupation* and inclinations of punishment in the same TT, thus recalling negative beliefs about Israelis consistent with the generalized opinions in the Arab world about Israel.

Reuters C:

Palestinian uprising

TT:

انتفاضة فلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT: *Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation*

This hegemonic meaning that is determined by dominant ideologies also has its cognitive aspect. The cognitive factor draws on the way Arabs process the information related to Palestinian uprising. The Arab recipients usually interpret uprising in relation to Israeli occupation. This assumption is noted to be generalized in all Reuters texts under the current study, thus creating different causes and different effects.

Reuters D:

Palestinians kill seven as violence escalates

As noted, the ST emphasizes the assumption of Palestinian violence. This ideological assumption given in the heading paves the way for reasons for retaliation by Israel. Consider the following schematic knowledge given in the same text:

The mounting Israeli death toll in 17 months of violence was likely to increase public pressure on Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, whose popularity in Israel is at an all-time low, to take tougher military action against the Palestinians.

These assumptions and reasons are shifted in the TT as follows:

TT:

فلسطينيون يقتلون سبعة اسرائيليين بالضفة

BT: *Palestinians kill seven Israelis in the West Bank*

The Arabic heading omits the negative assumption of violence caused by Palestinians. Later on, we observe that the same assumption of violence is deleted again and replaced by new assumptions to create different interpretations and different effects:

ومن المتوقع أن يؤدي تصاعد عدد القتلى الاسرائيليين خلال الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي الى زيادة الضغوط الشعبية على ارييل شارون رئيس وزراء اسرائيل الذي انخفضت شعبيته الى أدنى مستوياتها.

BT: *The mounting Israeli death toll during the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation was likely to increase public pressure on Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, whose popularity is at an all-time low.*

The shift forges the ideological belief that the death toll is caused by other reasons, i.e. uprising against occupation. Therefore, the proposition related to taking tougher military action against Palestinians becomes irrelevant information, therefore deleted from the TT.

Reuters E:

ST: *Powell ended his **ill-fated peace mission**... Arab states must stop funding and inciting **terror**.*

The knowledge system and common sense emphasizing the belief: *the US peace mission against terror* is shifted to reflect a different schema in the TT. Consider:

وأنهى باول مهمة استمرت عشرة ايام دون بادرة تذكر... وعلى الدول العربية أن تكف عن تمويل "الارهاب" والتحريض عليه

BT: *Powell ended his **10-day mission without achieving any significant progress**... Arab States must stop funding and inciting **"terror"**.*

Obviously the assumption of peace is not generalized and taken for granted in the TT. The US is seen to intervene without making any significant progress to stop what is seen in the TT as *uprising/ struggle* but not *violence*:

ST: *to stop **Israeli-Palestinian violence***

TT:

لوقف الصراع الفلسطيني الاسرائيلي الذي تصاعد منذ تفجر الانتفاضة الفلسطينية ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي

BT: *to stop **Palestinian-Israeli struggle that has intensified since the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation**.*

The TT also scare quotes the word *terror* in order to stress that these are the evaluative beliefs of the US administration and that these beliefs cannot be part of the Arabs' generalized opinions about the Palestinian situation.

The next examples from AFP vs. Al-Manar will provide more explicit cases of competing cognitive models:

AFP A:

Security fence... the new project... the security fence... this defensive barrier...

The AFP text presupposes and generalizes beliefs of *security* and *defence* where threat is seen to be caused by Palestinians. The background knowledge that is constructed in these event schemata gives the following taken- for- granted reasons:

to thwart Palestinian attacks... reducing the threat to Israel from the area's armed Palestinians.

As one may predict, Al-Manar's text problematizes these commonsensical beliefs or presuppositions (see section 4.5.6) by either shifting the same assumptions or deleting them as follows:

TT:

قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية... ما تسميه جداراً أمنياً

BT: *Grabbing of Palestinian lands... what they call a security fence ...*

The new representation generalizes negative beliefs about Israel's policy and constructs the belief of *expansionism* in addition to *occupation*. These built-in beliefs are repeated throughout the text to reflect ideologically shared beliefs in the Arab world that interpret Israeli acts as negative or colonial. Furthermore, Al-Manar deletes all background knowledge given in the original text that is not relevant to its own subjective representation of people and experiences of events. This effect is seen in interpreting the event of fence- building as a new threat to Arab lands rather than defensive, as seen in the ST.

AFP B: *The radical Islamic movement Hamas... Hamas activist... wanted militants*

TT:

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس... الشهيد... الشهيد

BT: *The Islamic resistance movement Hamas... the martyr... the martyr...*

Again, general and negative beliefs about Palestinian fighters that become commonsensical in the ST are problematized in the target situation. That is, they are contested by the translator to reflect different social beliefs and knowledge constraints that s/he shares with the target audience. The shifts construct positive beliefs about Palestinian fighters that are consistent with those held by their audience.

AFP D:

Washington's strategy for peace... to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian crisis.

These uncontested assumptions about the US inclination to achieve peace are shifted in the TT to create different causes and effects:

TT:

الجهود الأميركية من أجل إعادة إطلاق عملية التسوية

BT: *The US efforts to re-launch the settlement process...*

This major shift is constrained by the cognitive belief that US efforts are part of a settlement policy that will eventually be at the expense of the Palestinian cause. This subjective representation will be interpreted by Al-Manar's large audience as credible for it becomes consistent with their schematic structures about the foreign policies in the M.E.

It can be noted that this important cognitive constraint that sustains and is sustained by dominant hegemonies and power relations will influence many of the syntactic choices in terms of cause and effect, in addition to semantic and pragmatic choices, as will later be explored under text strategy.

Table 6.2 is an attempt to summarize the ideological assumptions in each media agency that generalize negative beliefs about specific groups leading to subjective interpretations and preferred readings:

Media text	Negative beliefs
Reuters English	Carnage and violence are basically caused by suicide bombers which cause Israel to retaliate.
Reuters Arabic	Palestinian attacks are caused by uprising against Israeli occupation.
AFP	Suicide attacks cause threat to Israel, building of the fence and Israel's operations against Palestinians.
Al-Manar	Threat comes from Israeli occupation and expansionism. Threat also comes from US settlement policy.

Table 6.2 The major cognitive factors or biased mental representations and interpretations found in the present study

6.2.5 Skopos

Having seen how political discourses in the media are determined by dominant ideologies, power relations and cognitive systems, we now need to see how these discourses practically and overtly come to action by their own commissions. In other words, we need to analyse another contextual factor which relates to the professional and pragmatic aspect of political discourse. The pragmatic and functionalist nature of the translational act has been introduced under different notions in the previous chapter, such as the referential or the involved text function, the author's stance and the extratextual factors relating for instance to intention, expectations, place, time, and the goals or instructions of the commissioner. We have also dealt, in section 3.6, with the editorial action that controls the final productions found in Reuters or Al-Manar translations, thus leading to particular ideological readings.

This section will provide insight into the details of this practical exercise carried out by the text producers themselves. One must examine the intentional, visible activity or the "purposeful behaviour" that takes place in media or journalistic translation besides the above contextual dimensions (enacted hegemonies or cognitive models) that invisibly constrain the production of a political news report.

The analysis here will be guided mainly by a functionalist approach to translation and skopos theory (see section 5.3.2) which was seen to constitute a crucial dimension in the contextual analysis. This is owing to the fact that the purpose of translating as determined by the commissioner, the intended text function during a specific time and place, the expected action from the translator, and the type of audience seen to be a crucial factor in the final production of a target text are all decisive elements which combine to constitute an important practical constraint. By using the word skopos here reference is being made not only to the purpose and action of the translation but also to the purpose, communicative function and action taken in the ST.

In order to analyse this dimension, one needs to examine at the beginning the purpose and instructions given by the commission concerned. In our case, we may consider the following intentional and functional constraints given by the commissions of Reuters and Al-Manar (refer to Appendix D):

- Reuters:

The overall purpose is to produce an informative text that avoids bias against Arabs involved in the M.E. struggle. In other words, literal translation is not required as long as the text is informative, credible and shows respect and politeness to the common beliefs of the target audience. The translator is expected to have good background knowledge about the target's political situation, for s/he is involved in journalistic translation that targets a large Arab audience and market. The journalistic translator has the authority to remove, for example, biased classifications or to adapt offending or irrelevant information. Also, the intended communicative function of translation has to give more access to voices from the Arab world as well as background knowledge that seems relevant to the Arab audience's expectations, especially during a sensitive political period in the history of the Middle East. The translator is also required to refer to the news editors who decide on the basic adaptive procedures or additional information that add to the acceptability and successful consumption³⁹ of the target text.

- Al-Manar:

The overall purpose is to produce an informative text that avoids bias against Arabs involved in the M.E. struggle. Literal translation is therefore not required as long as the text is informative and does not camouflage political beliefs and political realities naturalized by law and power in the Arab world. The translator is required and trained to have good background knowledge about political events in the M.E. and to be sensitive to foreign ideological discourses that contradict what is seen to be true in the Arab world. Furthermore, during the translational process the translator is required to show overt sympathy and politeness towards Arab victims and to remind the audience of the state of war with Israel. The translator who works for media agencies such as Al-Manar usually believes in and agrees with the ideological positions taken by his/her client and commission. S/he is also trained to be sensitive to the foreign political assumptions taken by default in the original text and to create doubts about the propositions given by outgroups. Direct access to the original text given by outgroups can be sought only if the news event has to include direct quotations that the audience might need to hear.

³⁹ Refer to section 2.4.1 which gives a theoretical background on the consumption of myths by the translator and the reader.

Practically, the translator has the authority to adapt the original text if s/he sees that it is ideologically motivated in form and in content and if it does not match with the target's ideological expectations. The translator is also required to refer to additional sources of information if the source text (e.g. AFP) does not give the information or the details that the Arab audience needs to hear, such as background information on Arab victims.

In this context, we observe that the practical aspect of translation relies on both an informational function and an involved or an interpersonal function⁴⁰ that is concerned with what House (1997) calls the emotional and intellectual stance of the text producer. Both intention and action reflect the personal involvement in the text that is likely to have a strong emotive effect on the recipient.

Having defined the intended communicative function of the target text, the translator, who is responsible for carrying out the requested task and achieving the communicative function, should be equally able to infer the ST intentions or purpose that will provide the basis for his/her final decision. The following examples will show how the translator makes a plan based on comparison of the intended functions of the source and target texts and what attitudinal stance s/he deliberately takes in order to meet the requirements of the translation purpose. The study cases below are concerned with the general plan that the translator makes and the action s/he takes to reach the communicative function. This will obviously influence many pragmatic and textual choices in the text. However, these fine and technical details on text strategy that reflect the skopos constraint will be studied at length in the following part of this chapter. At this point, consider the following functions, stance and action taken by the commission and the translator to cater for a particular audience during a turbulent political period that happens in an area very relevant to them:

In Reuters, the translator infers the ST intentions from either the stereotypical use of vocabulary related to groups or concepts, the justifications given for struggle, the details given on particular victims in the original text, the incrimination of specific groups, or the metaphoric language given against outgroups. Assessing source-text strategy that expresses the original writer's involvement in an informative event will make the translator decide if it meets with his/her commission's requirements and his/her audience's expectations. If it does not, s/he will have to take what is seen as redressive

⁴⁰ Refer to sections 2.3 and 5.2.2.

action, especially when the attitudinal stance of the ST or its involved function does not match with his/her involved function; for instance:

Reuters F:

*Israel's security cabinet has just ended a meeting called on Tuesday to consider what was likely to be a harsh military response to **the morning rush-hour** bombing, which destroyed a **municipal bus filled with schoolchildren and commuters**... **Palestinians in Jenin, a stronghold of militants** said at least five army tanks rolled into the city after nightfall... Witnesses said more army vehicles were approaching Jenin, which like other West Bank cities has been raided repeatedly by Israeli forces **in an effort to crush suspected bomber networks** that survived an army offensive in April. The army had no immediate comment.*

TT:

وكانت الحكومة الاسرائيلية المعنية بالشؤون الأمنية انهت لتوها اجتماعا لبحث ما يرجح أن يكون ردا عسكريا شديدا على الهجوم الفلسطيني الذي وقع صباح الثلاثاء ودمر حافلة مزدحمة... وقال الفلسطينيون في جنين أن خمس دبابات اسرائيلية على الأقل توغلت في البلدة بعد حلول الظلام... وأشاروا إلى أن مزيدا من المركبات التابعة للجيش تقترب من جنين. ولم يعلق الجيش الاسرائيلي فورا على ذلك.

BT: *Israel's security cabinet has just ended a meeting to consider what was likely to be a harsh military response to **the Palestinian attack** which took place on **Tuesday morning** and destroyed a **full bus**... **Palestinians in Jenin** said at least five Israeli tanks rolled into the city after nightfall... Witnesses said more army vehicles were approaching Jenin. The Israeli army had no immediate comment.*

It is noted that the translator removes the evaluative or interpersonal details that describe the event of bombing during *the morning rush-hour* or the description of victims that relates to civilians such as *children and commuters*. The final production in this target text becomes merely informational or referential without any evaluative details that should affect the emotions of the recipients. This is owing to the fact that the commission gives the information which the Arab audience prefers to read. In other words, the Arab audience is likely to accept information with emotive details on Palestinian victims in Jenin rather than just receiving emotive details on Israeli victims.

The translator also considers the kind of incrimination given in the ST against Palestinians. S/he infers, for example, that there is consistent incrimination and negative

categorization of Palestinian fighters in Reuters texts. As a result, s/he takes an attitudinal stance to carry out the commissioned task either by removing the classifications that came in the original text or by eliminating the negative evaluations that “inferiorize” Palestinians, e.g. deleting the metaphorical expression “*to crush bomber networks*”.

As may also be observed, the involved function of the TT simultaneously removes the causality given at the end of the ST which reflects the stance of the original writer. Here, the translational act would rather give reasons that reflect the common beliefs of the Arab audience. In other words, the Arab audience does not find the reason that *bomber networks have caused Israel’s strikes* credible or acceptable.

Furthermore, the translator’s decision seems to meet with another commissioned task that requires politeness towards Palestinian participants. That is, the interpersonal function is upgraded to save the Palestinians’ negative face, i.e. the shifts seem to avoid expressions of disapproval or negative emotions towards them. The end product in this case is an informative text with a referential function concerned with informing the reader of a particular news event devoid of foreign attitudes or foreign emotive effects.

AFP A:

The Gaza strip is already walled off, reducing the threat to Israel from the area’s armed Palestinians... Measures, such as checkpoints and curfews, have only intensified since the second Intifada erupted 20 months ago... The case of Barta’a, a small Arab village of 5000 residents near Kfar Salem, is a case in point. The Green Line cuts Barta’a down the middle, with the division effectively putting the village’s affluent western side in Israel and the poorer eastern side in the West Bank.

Al-Manar’s intended communicative function deletes the information given about the Gaza strip. This is owing to the fact that the kind of information given in the AFP text seems irrelevant to the new audience, as it includes an ideological presupposition that clearly states threat is coming to Israel from Palestinians. As seen above, the commission trains the translator to question the information taken by default in the foreign text. If this informative and interpersonal part is relayed intact into the TT, Al-Manar’s audience will naturally meet it with a protest.

It is also noted that the translator deletes the stance given by the original author on the curfews that have intensified *only since the second Intifada*. This omission comes from the translator's decision that it cannot be relayed because it contradicts with the beliefs of both the commission and the targeted audience who have a different world view of the checkpoints and curfews in the West bank. As for the case of Barta'a, the commission produces the following communicative function:

وتمثل حالة قرية برطعة القريبة من كفر سالم مثالا حيا على سياسة القضم، حيث يمر في وسط هذه القرية التي يبلغ عدد سكانها 5 الاف نسمة ويقع جزؤها الغربي الأكثر ازدهارا تحت الاحتلال وجزؤها الشرقي الفقير في الضفة. وهكذا تنضم هذه القرية الى مثيلاتها الفلسطينية القابعة تحت الاحتلال.

BT: *The case of the village of Barta'a near Kfar Salem is a live example of this policy of **land grabbing**. The Green Line cuts this village of the 5000 residents down the middle putting the western and affluent side under **occupation control** and its **poor** eastern side in the West Bank. Thus, this village joins similar Palestinian villages suppressed under **occupation**.*

Clearly, the target's commission is concerned not only with relaying information. The translator/commissioner's involvement is noticeable in reminding the audience of the ideological enemy. This is seen in the stereotypical naming of Israeli participants, in alerting the audience of more land seizure, in the metaphorical creeping into the formal register of an expository text, in the use of an evaluative connector '*thus*' which activates the Arab's memories of previous occupation, or in adjusting the comparative *poorer* to *poor* in order to reflect different views and to leave a more negative impression about this informative event.

The involved function is also seen in the overt sympathies shown to the affected Palestinian participants in this event. The commissioned task seems to perform a positive politeness strategy via claims of common ideological grounds, values and shared presuppositions indicating shared interests with the Palestinian people in particular and the Arab nation in general.

Eventually, the text takes an appellative function (i.e. appealing to Arab recipients' previous knowledge, sensitivity or ethical stance towards this event) and a phatic function (i.e. maintaining conventional contact between broadcaster and listener such as *thus* or

what they call), in addition to the referential/informative function of the text⁴¹. Such functions leave a very different coherent effect on the target audience, contrary to what has been seen in the ST. We will observe at a later stage that Al-Manar texts carry this additional phatic function via modal expressions, such as *what they call, in x's opinion*, etc..., in order to maintain common ground contact with their large audience who are watching the news with interest.

The multi-functionality seen so far in the corpus will be even more visible with the progression to the second part of analysis that will operate at the fine linguistic level.

6.2.6 Concluding Remarks on the Contextual Constraints

The first part of the analysis has examined the structured set of the important dimensions of a sensitive political situation that seems to constrain the legitimate production, interpretation and communicative functions of a political news report. The chosen dimensions are not meant to be exhaustive but are seen to sustain one another and equally constitute the very sensitive dimensions that cause shifts in translation. Therefore, it is suggested that these critical dimensions of context that characterize a politically sensitive TT should be compared in any political translation model of analysis, regardless of the fact that they may be resisted by the target commission. To recapitulate on the contextual constraints of this study, consider their following functions in any politically motivated text:

The ideological constraints determined at the institutional level in terms of **dominant hegemonies** which naturalize the **subject positions** and decide on **power and solidarity relations** within the text were seen to be invisible factors that give the text its **ideological and legitimate function**. They implicitly decide on the kind of dominant discourse and prejudices that can be reproduced in a political news report without the possibility of being resisted by the dominant moral and legal orders of a particular society. That is, they constrain what will be seen by the audience as legitimate discourses and accepted power and group relations.

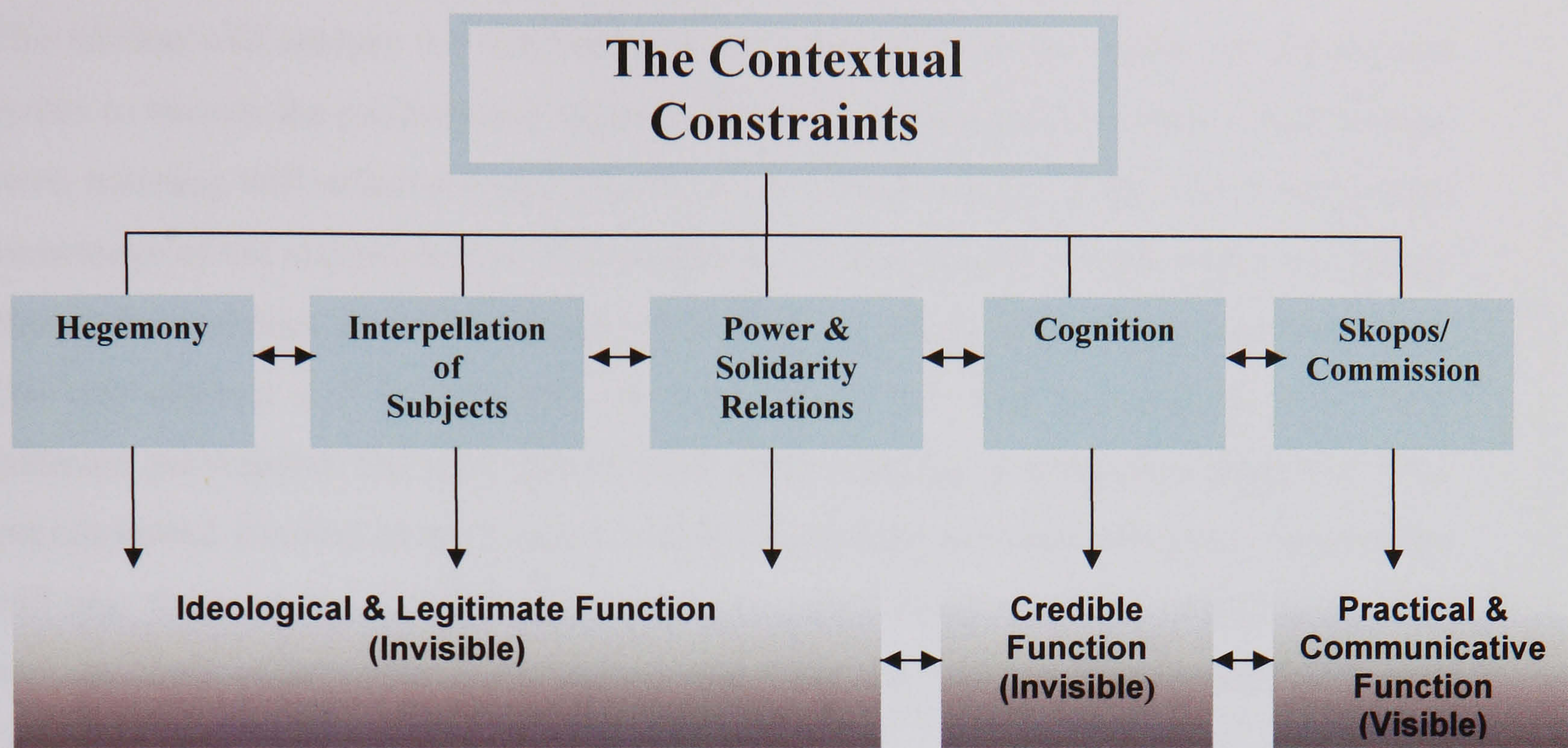
⁴¹ See sections 2.3.2 and 5.2.2.2 on these functions.

The cognitive constraint that is determined by the **general and undisputed belief** and **knowledge systems** shared by most component members of a particular society controls the subjective representation and interpretation of the political event. It was seen to be another invisible factor that gives the political text its **credible function**, especially when it touches upon the evaluative beliefs of a group about what they see as a real cause of threat.

The skopos constraint determined by the media editors or commission was seen to be a visible factor, for it clearly articulates the **intended communicative functions** and the kind of **action** to be carried out by the text producer/ translator. The role of the commission usually gives the text its **practical function** as it controls action and desired results laid down by the media institution.

The above contextual analyses obviously interact with the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language. The ideational or experiential function that maps on content, syntax and lexical choices will reflect, for example, the ideological and subjective representations of the event. The interpersonal function that maps on pragmatic or modality choices will reflect the power claims made in the text as well as the intended communicative function of the commission. The textual function that maps on the structural organization (e.g. thematic structuring) and cohesion (e.g. lexical collocations) of the text will reflect the subjective representations or ideological assumptions constructed by the text producer as well as the intended plan of the commission. Each factor seems to interact with Halliday's language functions to lead eventually to a particular text strategy. It is therefore necessary at this stage to illustrate the argument by showing those detailed analysis of text strategy that actualize and express the defined contextual constraints in this study.

Figure 6.1 below summarizes the main contextual constraints/factors along with their invisible and visible functions as defined in the first part of analysis:



- The crucial factors that constrain the production and interpretation of politically sensitive news report
- The intended function

Figure 6.1 The major contextual factors identified in the present study

6.3 Analysing Text Strategy

6.3.1 Transitivity

This section will analyse the noticeable and preferred transitivity system carried through syntax to encode the predominant experiential value of the political events in this corpus. Here, meaning will reflect the representations of subjective ideas, beliefs and background knowledge of the text producers. The transitivity system should also unravel the involved plan or the authorial stance that tends to incriminate certain groups more than the others. Our text analysis will focus mainly on who (agent) did what (process type) to whom (affected participant) and why (under what circumstantial or expansion elements). The circumstantial element or expansions will be underlined for easy reference. Transitivity will also focus on the type of agency (foregrounded/ emphasized vs. backgrounded) as well as cases of nominalization. The analysis will equally cover the system of voice (active vs. passive).

Reuters A:

A Palestinian suicide attack (foregrounded agent with suicide attribute) *that killed* (material process active in voice) *6 people* (affected participants or victims) *in Jerusalem...* *Arafat* (affected participant) *has been trapped* (material process passive in voice) *in his headquarters in Ramallah surrounded* (passive material process) *by Israeli tanks* (delayed agency) *since March 29, when the Israeli army* (foregrounded agent) *launched* (active material process) *a sweeping offensive in the West Bank after a suicide bombing* (foregrounded agent) *killed* (active material process) *28 people* (affected victims) *in an Israeli hotel* (the expansion gives cause for Arafat's situation)... *a campaign* (nominalization backgrounding agency) *that has killed* (active material process) *at least 200 Palestinians* (affected participants).

TT:

بعد الهجوم الأخير الذي نفذته شابة فلسطينية فجرت نفسها وقتلت ستة إسرائيليين في القدس... وتحاصر الدبابات الاسرائيلية الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات في مقره برام الله منذ 29 آذار.

BT: *after the last attack* (affected participant) *carried out* (active material process) *by a young Palestinian woman* (delayed agent with no negative attribute) *who* (agent) *blew* (added material process) *herself up* (first affected participant) *and killed* (second material process) *six Israelis* (second affected participants) *in Jerusalem... the Israeli tanks*

(foregrounded agent and active in voice) *have been surrounding* (material process) *the Palestinian President Yasser Arafat* (affected participant) *in his headquarters in Ramallah since March 29* (the circumstances of location and extent are kept but the circumstance of cause given in the ST has been omitted).

Reuters B:

Its forces (agent without attribute) *reoccupied* (material process active in voice) *most West Bank cities and towns* (affected places) *following a spate of bombings in June* (circumstance giving reason for reoccupation). *Tanks* (inanimate actor) *stormed* (active material process) *Arafat's presidential compound* (affected participant) *and penned* (active material process) *him* (affected) *in for 10 days* *after a Tel Aviv bus bombing* (agent) *killed* (material process active in voice) *six people* (affected participants/ victims) *last month* (circumstance of cause giving reason for Arafat's situation and incriminating bus bombing)... *Suicide bombers* (agent with suicide attribute) *have killed* (material process active in voice) *scores of Israelis* (affected participants/ victims). This sentence is deleted from the Arabic translation.

TT:

وأعادت القوات الاسرائيلية احتلال معظم مدن وبلدات الضفة الغربية عقب موجة من التفجيرات في يونيو.

BT: *The Israeli forces* (agent with nationality attribute) *have reoccupied* (active material process) *most West Bank cities and towns* (affected participant/ place) *following a spate of bombings in June* (one circumstance of reason is given, whereas the expansion provided in the ST to give a second circumstance of cause is deleted from the translation).

Reuters C:

It was (relational process) *the deadliest against Israelis* (affected participants) *since the start of a Palestinian uprising more than two years ago* (circumstance of extent is observed instead of a circumstance of cause for uprising) *and raised the spectre of heavy retaliation by Israel's right-wing government* (the enhancement of retaliation is the effect of the deadliest attack. The latter is seen as cause for retaliation, therefore deleted from the translation).

TT:

وهذا أعنف هجوم على الاسرائيليين في المدينة منذ اندلاع انتفاضة فلسطينية قبل عامين ضد الاحتلال الاسرائيلي.

BT: *It was* (relational process) *the deadliest attack on* (not against) *the Israelis* (affected participants) *in the city since the outbreak of a Palestinian uprising more than 2 years ago against Israeli occupation.* A different circumstance is given in the translation and against occupation. The latter is seen as circumstance of cause for the deadliest attack. The subjective representation of the commissioned task also omits the second enhancement provided in the original text that emphasizes that Israel's retaliation is a result of the deadliest attack.

ST: *Swalhah* (affected participant) *was shot dead* (material process, passive in voice) *by Israeli troops* (delayed agent) *during a sweep* (nominalization which omits reference to agent) *for militants in the West bank city of Jenin* (a circumstance of extent and location is observed). *The army said he* (affected participant) *was killed* (material process, passive in voice with backgrounded agency) *after he* (foregrounded agent) *threw* (material process, active in voice) *grenades at the soldiers* (affected participants) (here we observe a circumstance of cause given to incriminate the Palestinian participant). This whole experiential representation that in principle incriminates the Palestinian participant alone has been deleted from the Arabic representation or translation.

Reuters D:

The attack was launched some 12 hours after a Palestinian suicide bomber (foregrounded agent with attribute giving cause) *killed* (material process active in voice) *nine people* (affected Israeli participants/ victims) *in an ultra-orthodox neighbourhood of Jerusalem.*

TT:

ووقع إطلاق النار بعد نحو 12 ساعة من تفجير فلسطيني نفسه مما أدى إلى مقتل تسعة أشخاص في حي لليهود المتشددين بالقدس.

BT: *The shooting took place some 12 hours after a Palestinian* (the agent has no attribute of suicide bomber) *blew* (active and additional material process) *himself up*, (first affected participant is the Palestinian) *which resulted in killing* (material and indirect process that distances the agency of the Palestinian in the killing act) *nine people* (second affected participants are separated from the first affected participant) *in an ultra-orthodox neighbourhood of Jerusalem.*

AFP A:

Israel (agent without attribute) *will start building* (active material process) *on Sunday a massive security fence* (affected participant) *to thwart Palestinian attacks* (circumstance of cause).

Al-Manar translation:

تباشر غدا سلطات الاحتلال معاودة قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية بحجة اقامة ما تسميه جدارا امنيا

BT: *The occupying authorities* (foregrounded agent with negative attribute giving additional cause) *will start tomorrow grabbing* (active material process) *more Palestinian lands* (affected participants) *under the pretext of building what they call a security fence* (different circumstance of cause is given in the translation to give different reasons).

ST: *Israel* (sensor) has come *to view* (mental process of cognition) *the West Bank as a launching pad for suicide attacks* (this phenomenon is perceived as a main cause or circumstance that gives additional reason for the building of the fence). This subjective representation and interpretation that reflects a particular cognitive factor is omitted from the translation.

ST: *The Gaza strip* (affected participant) *is already walled off* (agentless process and passive in voice), *reducing the threat to Israel from the area's armed Palestinians*. The underlined expansion qualifies the previous clause to enhance it, i.e. it gives it a circumstantial feature of cause to justify the construction of the wall and to further incriminate armed Palestinians. This additional representation is also omitted from the translation.

AFP B:

H. Khrewesh (affected participant) *was killed* (material process passive in voice and agentless) *during a shootout* (a circumstance of extent in a nominalized process)... *Hamas activist* (affected participant has a negative attribute) *had been killed* (material process passive in voice and agentless) *saying he* (foregrounded actor) *had first shot* (active material process) *at Israeli troops* (affected participant) *who returned fire* (the expansion gives a circumstantial feature of cause blaming the Palestinian agent who caused return of fire) ... *Attari* (affected participant) *was gunned down* (material process, passive and agentless)... *Another Palestinian* (affected participant) *was also killed*

(material process, passive and agentless)... *Attari* (affected participant) *had been killed* (material process, passive and agentless) *after brandishing a pistol at soldiers* (circumstance of cause given to blame the Palestinian participant) *while Kassas* (affected participant) *had been shot* (material process, passive and agentless) *while hiding in a bush* (circumstances of extent and location are observed)... *Six Palestinians* (affected participants) *were killed* (material process, agentless and passive) *during the 11-day operation* (circumstance of extent in a nominalized process) *which also left large scale destruction* (affected participants are unclear).

TT:

استشهد ثلاثة فلسطينيين برصاص جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني فجر اليوم اثنان منهم في مدينة نابلس أقدم جنود الاحتلال على اعدامهما في عملية خاصة وهما ابراهيم عطاري أب لأربعة اطفال وقصاص والشهيد الثالث ويدعى هشام خرويش من حركة المقاومة الاسلامية حماس... وادعى متحدث عسكري صهيوني ان جنود الاحتلال قتلوا الشهيد خرويش بعد رفض تسليم نفسه... وبلغت حصيلة الاعتداءات الصهيونية المتواصلة على مدينة نابلس سبعة عشر شهيدا فلسطينيا وجرح العشرات واعتقال العديد.

BT: *Three Palestinians* (affected participants/ victims) *were martyred* (additional process) *overnight by the bullets of the Zionist occupying army* (agent with negative attributes), *two* (affected participants) *in the city of Nablus where the occupying army* (foregrounded agent with negative attribute) *embarked boldly upon executing them* (additional material process) *in a special operation* (circumstance of manner is given against Israeli participants): *Ibrahim Attari, a father of 4 children, Kassas and the third martyr called H. Khrewesh from the Islamic resistance movement Hamas* (affected participants)... *A Zionist military spokesman claimed that the occupying army* (agent with attribute) *killed* (active material process) *martyr Khrwesh* (affected participant) *after refusing to surrender* (circumstance of reason claimed by Israelis is given doubt)... *The death toll of the continuing Zionist aggression on the city of Nablus has resulted in the death of 17 Palestinian martyrs, scores of injuries, and the arrest of many* (more affected participants than what was found in the original text).

AFP E:

A Palestinian teenager (affected participant) *was shot dead* (material process, passive in voice) *by Israeli troops* (delayed actor)... *Mazal* (affected participant) *was killed* (passive material process) *on the doorstep of his home* (circumstance of location) *as soldiers* (actor with no attribute) *opened fire* (material process) *during an incursion* (circumstance of extent with a nominalized process)... *several tanks and Jeeps*

(inanimate actors) *took part* (material process) *in the raid during which 2 Palestinians* (affected) *were arrested* (indirect material process, passive and agentless).

TT:

قوات الاحتلال قتلت شابا فلسطينيا يدعى جهاد معزل... وكان الشهيد معزل واقفا أمام منزله عندما فتحت قوات الاحتلال نيران بنادقهم اتجاهه وقد استعمرت القوات المحتلة عددا من الدبابات والمجنزرات العسكرية خلال التوغل فيما اعتقلت فلسطينيين آخرين.

BT: *The occupying forces* (foregrounded agent with attribute) *killed* (active material process) *a young Palestinian, J. Mazal* (affected participant)... *the martyr* (affected participant) *was standing* (relational process) *on the doorstep of his home* *when the occupying forces* (agent with negative attribute and cause) *opened fire* (active material process) *at him* (affected). The underlined expansion is an extension. i.e. it extends beyond the previous clause to foreground the agency of occupying forces and to incriminate them in an active process. *The occupying forces* (foregrounded agent with attribute) *used* (additional active process) *several tanks and jeeps* (the affected participant tanks and jeeps are not used as actor in the TT in order to foreground the agency of occupying forces) *during the incursion* (the circumstance of extent here is preceded by a foregrounded agency with negative attribute) *and arrested* (active and direct process) *two other Palestinians* (affected).

It can be concluded from the above analysis that there is a struggle over cause and effect in the transitivity system of the same political event. The experiential function tends in general to foreground certain participants (usually outgroups or illegal subjects) who cause a material and negative process that extends to a particular participant (usually ingroups or legal subjects).

In general, Reuters in English and AFP tend to foreground the Palestinian agency with its negative attribute as a causal force in material processes of violence and killing. The material processes are mainly active in voice and extend to other affected participants who are the Israeli victims.

Conversely, we observe that Israeli agents have no negative attributes and are mainly represented under a passive system of voice. If the system of voice is active it is usually followed by a reason or a circumstance of cause to justify the process. Generally, the Israeli agency in Reuters or AFP texts is delayed, nominalized, given inanimate agency or

deleted from the killing process to background responsibility or causality. According to Hodge and Kress (1993) and Fairclough (2001), passivization, nominalization or agency deletion weakens the causal link between the responsible actor and process or makes it more difficult to recover directly the responsible actor in this unpleasant experience. In the case of nominalization, the participants in the process become de-emphasized (e.g. *during a sweep, the shootings, during a shootout, during an incursion, building a security fence*). This grammatical configuration transforms what is troublesome into something less problematic, i.e. they become like event processes leaving causality unspecified.

In a news report, occasional mental or relational processes are noted. They usually reflect a subjective judgment (e.g. *it was the deadliest attack against Israelis*) or perception (e.g. *Israel views the West bank as a launching pad for suicide attacks*). If used, these processes will usually foreground evaluations in favour of ingroups.

As for the enhancements or circumstances provided by Reuters and AFP that reflect the local coherence relations between clauses, we observe that the taken-for-granted background gives extra information and causes to incriminate Palestinian acts. The circumstances of cause are usually given to foreground the responsibility of Palestinian participants and negative actions. However, circumstances of cause giving reason for Palestinian attacks are not observed. What was rather observed in AFP and Reuters is presenting circumstances of extent and location within a nominalized process, instead of giving a circumstance of cause when the Israeli participants take part in a material process (e.g. *killed, shot*) that extends to Palestinian participants. The circumstantial element that seems to be loaded with subjective representations leads to substantial shifts in the target situation, for it influences the interpretation and reading of the political event in terms of the why? how? or what for? elements.

Reuters Arabic tends not to foreground Palestinian agents but distances their agency by deleting the whole causal process that actively incriminates them; delaying their agency and removing its negative attributes; or by adding new positive attributes to Palestinian agents if agency is delayed (e.g. *young*). On the other hand, Reuters Arabic tends to foreground the agency of Israeli participants and transforms their passive processes into active ones to emphasize their causal force. Their agency takes the attribute “*Israeli*” in a systematic manner. We also observe that Reuters Arabic cuts down on the affected Israeli participants or victims. Conversely, more affected Palestinian participants/ victims are

found with additional processes that reflect different hegemonic and subjective representations (e.g. *a Palestinian blew himself/herself up*). The additional circumstantial elements found in Reuters Arabic emphasize that the political event is caused by occupation, thus leading to different coherent effects on the audience.

Al-Manar texts foreground Israeli agents with attributes of occupation to emphasize this causal force in every similar event. The system of voice is predominantly active and agency usually extends to the affected Arab participants/ victims. The actionals or physical processes caused by Israeli agents are given more negative representations or additional processes, such as *grabbing* or *embarked boldly upon executing them*. They are enhanced by different circumstantial elements that give reasons against Israeli participants.

It was noted that shifts at the transitivity level including the conditionality of facts under the circumstantial element ultimately lead to different interpretations and cognitive effects.

The main transitivity system that is likely to be found in similar sensitive political reports can be summarized if we categorize it under Van Dijk's (1998) group schema (i.e. ingroups vs. outgroups). Table 6.3 will register the main findings of this study on transitivity:

Group Schema	Ingroups	Outgroups
Agency	Delayed, deleted or nominalized.	In general have a foregrounded agency with negative attribute that gives an additional cause, especially when agents are illegal subjects.
System of voice	Passive in general. If active, it is followed by a reason.	Active.
Process	Mainly material. Occasionally mental. Additional material processes are observed to sympathize with ingroup affected participants.	Mainly material. Additional material processes are given to incriminate outgroups. Relational processes are observed to evaluate the negative results of outgroup actions.
Affected Participant	Many.	Least or none.
Circumstances	Circumstances of location or extent evading cause.	Circumstances of cause or manner to incriminate outgroups.

Table 6.3 The preferred transitivity system found in the present study

6.3.2 Mood and Modality

The analysis of mood and modality will examine the interpersonal function of language, that is, meaning as interaction between the text producer and his/her audience. Here, we will see both how information or statements in the mood system can be modalized and how obligations or inclinations in the mood system can be modulated in order to reflect the attitudinal stance of the text producer; in other words, his/her involvement towards the truth of a proposition or the proposal expressed in the news report, hence, the reliability of the news event.

Modality, being a tool that expresses the attitudinal facets of language, should, in addition to the involved function, reflect relations of power and solidarity that exist between the

participants in the semiotic act⁴². The propositions and proposals along with their modal systems (i.e. epistemic and deontic modalities), that can be detected in a political news event, may be examined as follows:

Reuters A:

The general mood observed in the text is declarative with propositions functioning as statements: e.g. *Jerusalem bombing, Arafat's condemnation of terrorism, Israel's raids, Powell's mission*, etc... The modal system observed under the declarative mood carries both epistemic and perception modalities. These modalities that reflect the reporter's degree of commitment to the truth are seen to cause shifts in the TT. Consider the following epistemic and perception modalities:

The reporter in the ST is asserting that *Arafat expressed strong condemnation of terrorism in **an apparent attempt*** (perception modality with high probability) *to satisfy U.S. demands and reinstate plans to meet Secretary of State Colin Powell*. This modalized assertion shows a clear commitment by Arafat to comply with US demands.

TT:

في محاولة فيما يبدو لتلبية مطالب الولايات المتحدة كي يجتمع بوزير الخارجية الامريكية كولن باول

BT: *in an attempt **that seems to*** (a perception modality with lower probability) *satisfy U.S. demands in order to meet Secretary of State Colin Powell*.

The modalized statement in the TT shows a weaker commitment to the truth that Arafat is merely complying. Here, the journalistic translator is telling the audience that Arafat is seen to be under pressure to comply in order to meet with Powell. The modal shift reflects different power relations, in that Arafat is perceived not to be making *apparent* concessions to US demands but trying to find a way out, which makes the proposition more reliable to the Arab audience.

ST: *Palestinian Information Minister accused the US of applying a double standard by denouncing violence against Israelis but ignoring **what he called*** (lexical verb of perception) *"massacres" by the Israeli army*.

⁴² Refer to section 2.4.3

This modalized statement that comes under a perception modality shows a weak commitment to the truth and perception of the minister's proposition. Here, the reporter is claiming distance from what the Minister said about massacres.

TT:

واتهم وزير الاعلام الفلسطيني الولايات المتحدة بالكيل بمكيالين فتدين العنف ضد الاسرائيليين بينما تتجاهل تماما "المجازر" التي ارتكبتها الجيش الاسرائيلي أثناء حملته العسكرية.

BT: *Palestinian Information Minister accused the US of applying a double standard by denouncing violence against Israelis but ignoring **completely** (an added evaluative adverb) "the massacres" which the Israeli army has committed during its military campaign.*

The TT introduces the Minister's evaluative expression (*completely*) to emphasize his attitudinal stance against Israelis. The Arab reader will find this proposition, being strengthened by the Palestinian Minister's evaluation which signals that he is condemning massacres in the strongest term, more factual and epistemically stronger because it conforms with what Arabs believe about power relations between Israel and the US. Furthermore, the commission omits the perception modality "*what he called*" that came in the original text as this tries to distance the reader from the Palestinian Minister's proposition. Hence, the modal shift serves to create a strong degree of commitment to the truth of statements made by the Palestinian officials.

It is further noted that the general declarative mood of the text is mediated by "goods-&-services" i.e. obligation and inclination mood elements that have their deontic and boulomaic modal systems, such as:

ST: *White House and the State Department officials had **demande**d... **urged** (high obligation) Arafat... Arafat **complied** (high inclination).*

The proposals here are modulated in the TT as follows:

طلب البيت الأبيض... طلبت الادارة الاميركية... استجاب عرفات

BT: *The White House and the State Department officials **requested** (low obligation) Arafat... Arafat **responded** (lower inclination).*

The interaction in the TT between the translator and the audience relays a lower deontic system over Arafat and a lower obligation on the part of Arafat who is responding to rather than complying with US proposals. This is also related to a politeness strategy in the text that shows less coercion or authority over Arab leaders.

We conclude from this Reuters text that the modalized statements and modulated obligations in the TT are meant to foreground the subjective stance of the commission towards this sensitive political event. This is enhanced by the restoration of Arafat's quotation in the same text which condemns the Israeli attacks "*as well*" and in the strongest manner.

Reuters B:

*Israel **plans** (low inclination) to retaliate... Prime Minister Sharon refrained from **the kind of** (low usuality) swift military strikes that have followed **other** (quantifier) major attacks... Israel **held to its policy** (median usuality) of blaming the Palestinian authority...*

The epistemic and boulogmaic modal systems are shifted as follows:

TT:

تعتزم اسرائيل الرد... امتنع رئيس الوزراء شارون عن توجيه ضربة عسكرية سريعة كما هي العادة عقب اي هجوم انتحاري... وحمل مسؤولون اسرائيليون كالعادة السلطة الفلسطينية مسؤولية الهجوم.

BT: *Israel is **determined** to retaliate (high inclination)... Prime Minister Sharon refrained from the swift military strike that **usually** (modal adjunct with high usuality) follows **any** (modal quantifier) suicide attack... The Israeli officials **as usual** (modal adjunct with high usuality) have held the Palestinian authority responsible for the attack.*

ST:

*Recent raids that have killed Palestinian civilians and combatants **alike** (quantifier)... suicide bombers have killed **scores** (modal quantifier) of Israelis.*

TT:

الغارات الاسرائيلية التي سقط ضحيتها الكثير من المدنيين والمقاتلين الفلسطينيين

BT: *The Israeli raids which resulted in killing **many** (modal quantifier) Palestinian civilians and combatants.*

The above examples again show the stance of the text producer who can use different inclinations or epistemic modalities reflecting his/her attitude and commitment to the facts of the event, its frequency or its intensity. We observe that the modal expressions in the TT are either modalized to show a higher degree of strikes and usuality of blaming Palestinians or modulated to show a higher inclination to retaliate against Palestinians. The modal quantifiers, whether in the ST or the TT, are evidently used by the text producer to claim bias in the text and to show a different commitment to the truth of the statement. The last sentence ‘*suicide bombers have killed **scores** of Israelis*’ is omitted from the TT as it modalizes the statement by showing the large number of Israeli victims in addition to foregrounding Palestinian agency.

AFP A:

*Israel **will** (modal verb) start building a security fence to thwart Palestinian attacks... Israel **has come to view** (modal lexical verbs of perception) the West Bank as a launching pad (evaluative expression) for suicide attacks.*

The obligation and perception systems in this excerpt represent the speaker’s attitude which asserts to the audience that Israel has an obligation towards its own security; therefore Israel *will* build a security fence. The perception modality in this AFP text shows a high degree of commitment to the truth of propositions and perceptions which assert that threat comes from Palestinian areas. None of these attitudinal features is conveyed into the TT. Conversely, the TT creates different perception and epistemic modalities to instantiate disbelief of the intentions behind the security wall. Consider meaning in light of the following new modal expressions:

TT:

تباشر غدا سلطات الاحتلال معاودة قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية بحجة اقامة ما تسميه جدارا امنيا
ترسيم ما يسمى بالجدار الأمني... ترسيم ما يسمى بالخط الأخضر

BT: *The occupying authorities will start tomorrow grabbing more Palestinian lands under the pretext of building **what they call** (modal lexical verb of perception) a security fence... The demarcation of **the so-called** (perception modality) security wall... The demarcation of **the so-called** (perception modality) Green Line.*

Here, we observe different truth claims via the use of more evaluative language including modal perceptions that show overt distance in power relations. The modal expressions in

Al-Manar representation overtly contest the truth and security system⁴³ found in the ST propositions.

This varying degree of commitment to the truth of statements expressed by AFP reporters or Al-Manar translators can also be seen via the following modal expressions:

AFP C:

*An Israeli national **was** charged in a Tel Aviv district court Thursday with spying for Lebanon's Shiite movement Hezbollah, public radio reported (a declarative with high assertion)... Israel's domestic security said he **was asked** to produce a map of the electricity and gas companies ... the militant group **tasked** him with developing a rapport with a senior officer to extract information on military operations (commands with high obligation).*

TT:

وجهت محكمة تل ابيب اتهاما لاسرائيلي بالتجسس لصالح حزب الله وفق ما قالت اذاعة العدو... وادعت اجهزة الأمن الصهيونية ان حزب الله طلب من المتهم أن يحدد على خريطة مواقع جميع شركات الغاز والكهرباء... فضلا عن اقامة علاقات مع ضابط صهيوني كبير للحصول على معلومات حول العمليات العسكرية...

BT: *Tel Aviv court charged an Israeli national with spying for Hezbollah, **according to what the enemy's radio reported** (the declarative statement is followed by a perception modality) ... the Zionist security services **claimed** (evaluative verb) that Hezbollah asked the accused to produce a map of the electricity and gas companies in addition to developing a rapport with a senior Zionist officer to extract information on military operations.*

Here, the declarative mood in Al-Manar modalizes what Israeli officials or radio assert about Hezbollah to weaken the truth claims of outgroups. The use of perception modality along with evaluative verbs to create doubt about Israeli truth claims are considered to be subjective stances which express Al-Manar's own view of reality or non-commitment to the truth of Israeli propositions.

AFP D:

"Expressed our continuing concern about Hezbollah activities"

TT:

معربا عن قلق بلاده حيال أنشطة حزب الله على حد تعبيره

⁴³ Refer to the socio-politics of the sign in section 2.4.3.

BT: *Expressing his country's concern about Hezbollah activities, in his opinion.*

Again, the statements in Al-Manar are modalized by perception modality showing a different commitment to the truth of a proposition made by the U.S. official and a different belief system being exchanged with Al-Manar's audience.

In fact, the individual subjectivity underlying the productions of politically sensitive news reports to trigger a dialogue between S and H can be seen in the following modulated obligations and modalized statements as well as perception modalities of other media texts. Our examples are taken from the supporting texts of Appendix B:

The New York Times:

*Secretary of State Colin Powell will **press** (a command with high obligation) Yasser Arafat at their meeting Sunday... Powell also is **demanding** (a command with lower obligation) restraint from Israeli forces... Arafat's statement also expressed support for Powell's peacekeeping mission, Boucher said, adding that Powell will **press** (a command with high obligation) Arafat for action... Earlier Saturday, Powell **demand**ed (a command with lower obligation) restraint from Israeli forces on the West Bank... Arafat's statement, in Arabic, was distributed by the Palestinian news service Wafa, giving it the circulation the Bush administration **wanted** (a command with high obligation) ...*

The New York Times, 13 April 2002.

Here, we observe higher degrees of obligation on the part of Arafat than on Israeli forces where the coercive sense and power inequalities become prominent in this news report.

Assafir:

غير أن ما أذهل الاسرائيليين هو أن العملية وقعت في المنطقة الأشد حراسة داخل الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة، في ما يسمونه بالحي اليهودي في الخليل...

BT: *However, what astonished the Israelis is that the operation took place in the most heavily-guarded area inside the occupied Palestinian territories, in **what they call** (perception modality) the Jewish area of Hebron...*

Assafir, 16 November 2002.

Assafir obviously has a different ideological stance towards this event. The perception modality serves to trigger a dialogue with the respective audience by creating a distance from Israeli propositions.

Al-Manar English News:

*The well-knit operation took place at the outskirts of the West Bank city of Al-Khalil, when Palestinian resistance fighters opened fire at Israelis on **the so-called** (perception modality) Prayers Road... Shortly afterwards, a patrol jeep from the Israeli **so-called** (perception modality) border police rushed to the area and came under fire... and a spokesman for the Hamas group, Abdul Aziz Rantissi said “we **will** (modal verb with high inclination) continue in the struggle, we **will** (modal verb with high inclination) continue in our operation as long as there is aggression... we **will** (modal verb with high inclination) not stop resistance”.*

Al-Manar English News, 16 November 2002.

Again, we observe the same type of perception modalities which overtly contest the truth systems found in Israeli propositions. The modal verbs used by the Palestinian official assert to Al-Manar’s audience that Hamas has a high inclination to continue its operations against whom they consider as outgroups. Both the perception and boulomaic modalities combine to create an element of ideological interaction with the audience.

In conclusion, we observe from the above analysis that both the English and Arabic texts express, in general, a declarative mood to give information to the reader. The moods of command and offer to express obligation and inclination have also been observed. The modal devices highlighted are the tools used to show a biased attitudinal stance or the truth claim made by the author in order to interact with the intended audience and make the event reliable in the eyes of the target audience.

The truth claims made in the English texts of Reuters and AFP assert that Israel has an obligation to defend itself, retaliate against Palestinian militants and build a fence. On the other hand, the Arabic texts show a different commitment to the truth of the event asserted or expressed in western media. They make strong truth claims against Israeli strikes and occupation and foreground Israel’s inclinations to retaliate against Palestinians or to occupy more lands. What can be observed in Al-Manar are numerous and explicit cases of modal devices. Although these devices come under an expository news report, they seem to be reliable and conventional for they are related to a TV news report genre. As Al-Manar has a very large audience worldwide, the modal devices added to the translational act become effective in that they claim specific power relations with whom they perceive as outgroups.

The varying degrees of modalities that can in fact be found in any media text ultimately reflect a struggle over the event's reliability and truth as well as power differences. Basically, in a politically sensitive discourse, we may conclude that the text producer tends to modalize the antagonists' statements or propositions or modulates their political inclinations in a negative way in order to create distance from and doubts about them.

6.3.3 Texture

In section 4.5.3, it was mentioned that texture, in the Hallidayan sense, focuses on the analysis of both the structural and cohesive aspects of texts which make up "the textual component" of our analysis of a politically sensitive news report. The analysis here will give special attention to the marked structural elements of the text, i.e. the foregrounded themes or foregrounded points of departure that one can observe within the formulaic and organized structure of any expository news report. Attention is next turned to lexical cohesion, i.e. the relations within the text through the choice of lexical items that determine cohesive effects. The textual, structural and cohesive function of language seen via thematic structuring and lexical/semantic choices should reflect dominant ideologies, commonsensical assumptions and the text producer's plan, as discussed under the above contextual analysis.

6.3.3.1 Foregrounded Themes

The texts in this study are predominantly expository news reports. According to Hatim and Mason (1990) and Van Dijk (1988), a formal news report consists of a series of hierarchically ordered and monitored elements that come in a sequential order: headline; lead that summarizes the event and sets the scene; the main elements that expound the event; backgrounds and conditional relationships between sentences to enhance and explain preceding information. The latter is called by Van Dijk (1988) "local coherence" but in the current study, in order to look at it from the perspective of cause and effect, it has been addressed under the circumstantial element of the transitivity system. In fact, local coherence also contributes to the constructional pattern of the text.

The general structuring of an expository news report is usually conventionalized by media agencies. In Arabic, Hatim (2001a) explains that in an expository and informative news report, one usually encounters a formulaic verbal sentence structure and substantiators

preceding the verbal structure to instantiate the main themes of the news event. This compositional plan is seen to be dominant in all Reuters Arabic and Al-Manar texts. A news report usually puts the most relevant and important information in the most salient positions, i.e. thematic position whether in the text as a whole or in the clauses and sentences that are used to expand the main themes. An expository text-type is usually characterized by the use of unmarked thematic structure where a Theme is conflated with the Subject and followed by a Rheme (the remainder of the message)⁴⁴.

For instance, AFP A:

Israel (Theme) # *will start building a security fence* (Rheme)

Israeli Defence Minister # *will kick off the construction at a ceremony*

The fence # *would cordon off the Green Line*

The Gaza strip # *is already walled off*

The first phase of the fence # *will be built between Kfar Salem and Kfar Kassem*

The Israeli authorities # *are being very discreet about the exact nature of this defensive barrier*

The case of Barta'a # *is a case in point*

The Green Line # *cuts Barta'a down the middle*

The Palestinians # *have also slammed the building*

Here, we observe that the thematic organization is grammatically unmarked (i.e. the theme is the subject). But thematic foregrounding in this case comes from the dominant thematic references or theme repetition that become the main topic in the text and activate shared assumptions upon which the reader builds his/her interpretation of what follows. The analysis carried out on this AFP text have shown that there is a thematic pattern that brings to the fore a thematic repetition of *Israel*, *Israeli officials*, *Israeli authorities*, *Israeli measures*, *Israeli media*, *Israeli voices*, *the security fence* and *the construction of the security fence*. Secondary themes were given to the case of Barta'a and the last theme was given to the Palestinians. The dominant themes carry the information units that need to be developed gradually throughout the text. Themes tell where the text is heading and dominant themes distribute the points of departure in the text to be developed later under the rhematic structure. For example, the reporter will put under the rhemes the processes carried out by who is seen as legal vs. illegal participant ; the reasons given for the legal participants; the circumstances surrounding the process; or the affected participants.

⁴⁴ Halliday (1994) refers to functional labelling in capital letters, e.g. Actor, Process, Goal, Theme, Rheme, Subject.

On the other hand, it has been observed that the target text constructs a different reality system via a different thematic structural plan that puts, for instance, the following concepts in prominent positions: e.g. *occupying authorities, the so-called security fence, the case of Barta'a*. In other Al-Manar texts we observe that the compositional plan foregrounds within the thematic position verbs of martyrdom. Such dominant themes are used as tools for activating strategically important assumptions that need to be developed under the rheme units. For instance, *three Palestinians were martyred # by the bullets of the occupying army... the occupying army # embarked boldly upon executing them... the occupying forces # embarked boldly upon arresting Al-Manar's correspondent...*

We have previously discussed shifts in the transitivity system where actors can be put either in a foregrounded or backgrounded position. This brings us to another point in this analysis where we have to observe how foregrounded actors in killing processes are put in prominent thematic positions. For example, illegal actors are put in the most prominent positions to make them the winning themes in the text. Consider the following themes along with their equivalents:

ST: *Israeli Defence Minister* (Theme) # *will kick off the construction at a ceremony in Kfar Salem* (Rheme)...

The Gaza Strip (Theme) # *is already walled off* (Rheme1 backgrounding actor), *reducing the threat to Israel* (Rheme2 giving reason).

Here the reporter puts the *Defence Minister* and *Gaza strip* as main points of departure to influence the cognitive interpretation of what follows, whereas the TT directs attention to themes incriminating the “illegal” actors who built the wall:

TT:

يفترض ان يعطي وزير حرب العدو اشارة البدء بأعمال البناء في قطاع قرية كفر سالم المحتلة

BT: *The War Minister* # *is expected to give the go ahead signal for the construction in the occupied Palestinian village of Kfar Salem...*

What is referred to in the thematic position in the TT presents the event from a different perspective, i.e. the translator is constantly thematizing illegal actors only to develop this topic under the Rheme structure. The Rhemes will give negative comments or negative declarative statements about the Theme, hence leading to different interpretations. Owing

to limitation of space in this thesis, it will not be possible to illustrate all the points of departure or the thematized referents that have been found in every media text and the way they influence what comes next. Having analysed actors in the transitivity system, one can conclude that foregrounded illegal agents become dominant themes in politically motivated or sensitive texts, whereas backgrounded actors will be put under the rhematic structure.

We now turn to instances of marked themes, where the Subject is not chosen as Theme or where evaluative connectors can be thematized to show a subjective constructional plan in the text:

وهكذا تنضم هذه القرية الى مثيلاتها القابعة تحت الاحتلال

BT:

Thus (Theme) # *this village* (Subject) *joins similar Palestinian villages suppressed under occupation* (Rheme is underlined).

The thematic structure in this sentence puts an evaluative conjunction in a prominent thematic position to make the case of Barta'a more prominent within "the thematic line" of the text. It is as if the editorial voice is telling the audience: in this way, there will be more occupied lands.

One may also observe how themes become marked in the following structure found in Al-Manar's English news bulletin:

In a new attempt to seize more Palestinian lands (Marked Theme) # *Israel* (Subject) *will start building on Sunday what it calls a massive security fence along the West Bank under the pretext of halting Palestinian operations* (Rheme).

Al-Manar English news, 15 June 2002 (Appendix B).

Here the marked theme sets the scene from a different point of departure which makes the audience construct a different mental representation. That is, the audience will build interpretations based upon occupation and the seizure of Palestinian lands. This provides the environment for the development of the message, i.e. the Rheme. In the Rheme there are the results of occupation, such as fence building and alleged reasons.

Similar examples can be sought from other texts:

Reuters A:

A day after the suicide attack (Marked Theme) # *Arafat* (Subject) *complied* (Rheme)...

The marked theme foregrounds the suicide attack against Israelis and emphasizes that Arafat has no other choice this time but to comply with White House demands.

TT:

واستجاب عرفات بعد يوم من الهجوم

BT: *Arafat* (unmarked theme) # *responded a day after the attack* (Rheme).

The translation avoids foregrounding the suicide theme or the subjective representation given in the ST.

ST: *Echoing other Palestinian officials* (Marked Theme) # *Arafat* (Subject) *accused the Israeli forces of committing "massacres and slaughters"* (Rheme)... *an allegation* (Marked Theme) # *the army* (Subject) *has denied* (Rheme).

This marked thematic line directs attention to what Palestinians echo or allege. Foregrounding in this declarative statement is meant to focus on allegations rather than facts. The informational structuring is seen to reflect this underlying subjectivity. According to Halliday's (1994) functional explanation, *echoing* and *allegation* are cases of nominalized themes. "Any nominalization, therefore, constitutes a single element in the message structure. In this case the nominalization serves a thematic purpose... enabling the message to be structured in whatever way the speaker or writer wants" (Halliday, 1994: 41-42). It can be said that nominalization serves a thematic purpose in that it brings attention to different topics rather than directly incriminating legal actors. This was explicitly seen under the analysis of transitivity patterns. On the other hand, the TT directs the thematic line towards a different type of foregrounded themes that are also subjective representations:

TT:

ولكن ادانة الرئيس الفلسطيني شملت الهجوم الاسرائيلي ايضا فقال في البيان " ندين بقوة وبشدة المذبحة والمجازر التي ارتكبتها وترتكبها قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي ضد المدنيين واللاجئين الفلسطينيين في مدينة نابلس ومخيم جنين وضد كنيسة المهد في بيت لحم وغيرها من المناطق الفلسطينية على مدى الاسبوعين الماضيين".

BT: *But the Palestinian President's condemnation* (a multiple Theme: structural and topical) # *included the Israeli offensive as well* (Rheme). *He said in the statement* (Themel1) # “*We* (Theme 2) *strongly and firmly condemn* (Rheme 2) *the carnage and massacres* (Theme 3) *that have been and are being committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian civilians and refugees in Nablus town and Jenin camp and against Al-Mahd church in Bethlehem and other Palestinian areas over the past two weeks* (Rheme 3)” (Rheme1).

The commissioned task replaces the marked themes in the ST with a different marked structure. The Arabic translation adds an adversative to the thematic line (i.e. *but*) that expresses a judgment to save Arafat's public face. This evaluative conjunction is not usually found in exposition but is thematically foregrounded in this expository text to express the commission's judgment regarding the relevance of this message to Arafat's condemnation of suicide attacks against Israelis. The rebuttal is a dialogic device by the commission to thematize Arafat's stronger condemnation of Israeli attacks. This makes the news event more newsworthy to the Arab audience who needs more detailed information based on that point of departure. In other words, the subjective points of departure within this informational structuring provides the environment for the detailed themes and rhemes that follow. What follows in the rhematic structure now thematizes *carnage and massacres committed against Palestinians* and makes comments on the affected Palestinians.

Reuters B:

Adding to the gloomy mood of Israelis (Marked Theme) # *the international credit rating agency Fitch* (Subject) *said it downgraded Israel's local currency* (Rheme).

The reporter is foregrounding the thoughts and gloomy mood of the Israelis themselves. This was shifted as follows:

TT:

ومما أضاف الى الجو القاتم في اسرائيل اعلان فيتش انها خفضت تقييمها للعملة المحلية الاسرائيلية

BT: *What added to the gloomy mood in Israel* # *was Fitch's announcement that it downgraded Israel's local currency.*

The theme in Arabic de-emphasizes sympathy with Israelis and makes the statement in the thematic position more general in order to shift attention to what comes next.

It is concluded that the thematic structuring of information determined by the subjective representations and the commission's compositional plan is a strategy that influences the audience's interpretation of the news event. The above analysis shows that dominant themes, marked themes (with evaluative conjunction or themes separated from the subject), and themes foregrounding illegal actors are all tools that can be used to foreground the biased structural base of an expository and formal text-type. They organize the distribution of information that should be expounded under the rhematic structure. Foregrounded themes also activate the taken-for-granted assumptions made by the media agency.

One may also observe that the structural development and continuity of the political text seem to combine with lexical chains or choices that constitute the textual component of a news report. Therefore, the following section will focus on lexical cohesion as an important strategic tool that cannot be ignored in the current analysis.

6.3.3.2 Collocational Cohesion

This section will focus on the collocational network that has to be analysed in a political news report. As Halliday (1994) puts it, one must investigate the “co-occurrence tendency” or the “particular association” between words under discussion. Our analysis will attempt to find the “collocational bond” between the items found under a sensitive topic and its tendency to feature again in a different text by the same media agency. Lexical cohesion strings based on synonymy, repetition, and especially collocation are the instrumental means of ideological and hegemonic expression in discourse. Our analysis will summarize and compare the main pattern found in every media agency reflecting different paradigmatic choices as well as schemes of categorization. The analysis will group the participant chains along with their action chains found in the corpus to see how they interact with one another to give the text its experiential continuity, legal status and cohesive force.

Cohesive harmony analyses can be best categorized if we relate them to Van Dijk's (1998) concept of “ideological group schema” which touches upon elemental questions, such as: “Who are we?, Where do we come from?, Who belongs to us?, What do we (usually) do, and why?” (Van Dijk, 1998: 121). These questions should be able to guide this investigation of ideologically-based lexical choices found in a news report. By

resorting to the main questions raised under the group-schema, we can establish a better method for analysing collocational cohesion and simultaneously relate it to the contextual constraints above. Table 6.4 organizes and describes the main collocational network found in the present corpus:

Scheme of Categorization	Reuters (English)	Reuters (Arabic)	AFP	Al-Manar
Participant chains related to Who (Group A)	Israel, Israeli army, Israeli forces, tanks, troops, soldiers.	Israel, Israeli army, Israeli tanks, Israeli forces.	Israel, Israeli soldiers, Israeli troops, Israeli Defence Ministry, Israeli authorities, tanks. Israeli media, Israeli sources, Israeli spokesman.	Occupied Palestine, occupied lands since 1948, occupying authorities, Enemy's War Minister, Zionist circles, occupying army. Enemy's radio, Zionist spokesman.
What do they do	Raids, military campaign, army offensive, military operations, military strikes, fire, arrest, excessive use of force.	Israeli military campaign, Israeli military strikes, Israeli raids, Israeli occupation, Israeli attack, fire, kill.	Build a security fence or defensive barrier. Measures such as checkpoints and curfews. Arrest, kill, return fire, gun down, shootings, lengthy operation, incursion, raid.	Grabbing lands, build what they call a security fence. Execute Palestinians, open fire, embark boldly upon arresting, continual aggressions. Claim, allege.
Why	Sweep militants, root out suicide bomber, crush bomber networks, harsh military response to suicide bombing.	Israeli occupation, usual military strikes, determined to retaliate.	thwart attacks, reduce threat, round up wanted militants.	Zionists, occupation, seizure policy.

Participant chains related to Who (Group B)	<p>Palestinian suicide bombers, militant groups, militants, bus bombers, attackers.</p> <p>The head of the Palestinian group's military wing.</p>	<p>Palestinian, young Palestinian woman, the ones who carried out the operation, activists.</p> <p>The leader of Jerusalem brigade.</p>	<p>Armed Palestinians, hard line Fatah offshoot, radical Islamic Movement Hamas, Hamas activist. Lebanon's Shiite Muslim fundamentalist movement</p> <p>Hezbollah - a sworn foe of the Jewish State, the militant group, a network of collaborators.</p>	<p>Palestinians, martyrs, Islamic resistance group Hamas. Hezbollah.</p>
What do they do	<p>Bombings, suicide attacks, violence, carnage, detonate explosives, throw grenades, kill, pour heavy gunfire.</p>	<p>Carry out attacks, blow himself/herself up, kill, open fire, fire at tanks, bombing, suicide attack (occasional).</p>	<p>Suicide attacks, infiltrate into Israel, brandish pistols at soldiers, hide in a bush, first shoot at Israeli troops.</p> <p>Guerilla campaign, guerrilla attacks, build a network of collaborators.</p>	<p>were martyred, suppressed under occupation.</p>
Why	<p>Violence, terror, uprising, revolt, revenge attacks.</p>	<p>Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation (repeated to re-lexicalize violence) , revenge, "terror" remains scare quoted in all texts.</p>	<p>radical, threat to Israel, uprising, to oust Israelis.</p>	<p>Resistance.</p>

Table 6.4 The main collocational network found in the present study

Thorough lexical analysis of the corpus has shown that English Reuters uses a profusion of terms that exaggerate the illegal status of Palestinian bombers and their actions. This overlexicalization can be better seen if it is related to the metaphors (*rein in, crush, sweep, pen in*) used against Palestinian participants and to the repetition of the attribute

Palestinian suicide meant to enhance the negative characteristics of outgroups. Nevertheless, one observes that the naming system of Israeli participants does not denote an illegal or negative status. The lexical selection of their acts collocates with their legal status as a powerful group with legitimate forces. No derogatory or negative modifiers are used to describe them.

Reuters Arabic tends to underlexicalize or suppress the negative classifications of Palestinian participants. The collocational chains re-lexicalize or delete many lexical items that describe them in a negative way in order to avoid linguistic tension in Arabic. In a predictable way, Reuters Arabic re-lexicalizes some lexical chains related to Israeli participants, e.g. by constantly adding the nationality attribute *Israeli* or by the constant addition of the word *Israeli occupation* in order to emphasize this negative concept. Reuters Arabic avoids the use of metaphorical expressions against all participants in the news event.

AFP's naming system of Israeli participant chains has no negative presentation: their acts collocate with their power status and international legality. This contrasts with the negative categorization of groups fighting Israel. Overlexicalization and attitudinal modifiers are used against them (e.g. *radical*, *sworn foe*, *fundamentalist*). The reasons for their negative acts are expressed by lexical items that collocate with their negative properties.

Al-Manar's classificatory scheme is overtly aware of the ideological dimension of hegemonic terminology. The translation becomes more descriptive when we observe a habitual re-lexicalization of what they perceive as ingroups or outgroups. Al-Manar's text strategy exaggerates the illegal status and negative properties of Israel through the repeated synonyms of *occupation*⁴⁵ and through the use of overstatement such as *grabbing* rather than *seizing*. As one may observe, the profusion of negative collocations given to Israeli participants enhances the themes which are foregrounding them. On the other hand, Arab participants in Al-Manar are given very neutral naming systems, except for Arab victims who are given evaluative lexicalization (i.e. *martyrs*).

The recurrent patterns we have seen in the texts of Reuters, AFP or Al-Manar become commonsensical in the end and their collocation chains habitually go together to enable

⁴⁵ According to Al-Manar editors, the re-lexicalization bases on UN resolutions regarding occupied lands in the M.E.

the legitimating of a particular ideological system. Shifts in vocabulary seem to be essential to avoid conflict with the respective audience and to reproduce dominant and invisible ideologies.

6.3.4 Speech Acts and Politeness

This section will utilize the pragmatic tools of speech acts and politeness strategies to analyse the intended meaning of the text and what is invisibly conveyed in addition to the visible syntactic, structural and semantic means/ tools above. Speech act analysis will identify the general functions performed (e.g. representative or expressive); define the illocutionary and communicative force (i.e. make a statement, warn, raise doubts, express sorrow over x, express sympathy, or remind the audience of *terrorism* vs. *occupation*); explain the implied meanings and show cases of indirect speech acts in politically sensitive texts. Speech acts relaying implied meanings simultaneously show the text producer's awareness of the political face of the different participants in the text. For instance, when Al-Manar alerts the audience about more occupation in Arab lands, it obviously means to threaten the face of the agent in question but claim common ground with ingroups as well as respective text receivers. Therefore, our analysis will synchronize the politeness strategies, i.e. face- threatening acts (FTAs) vs. face saving acts, with speech acting strategies during the transmission of a political discourse. These two tools are determined by the contextual constraints of power and solidarity relations, shared background knowledge and the intended interaction by the commission with its respective audience. This will ultimately determine whether the speech act is felicitous or whether a politeness strategy saves vs. threatens the face of a particular group. We have already dealt with the Politeness Principle from a general perspective in section 6.2.5, but our case study below will analyse face-threatening acts and types of politeness strategies when intertwined with speech act strategies.

At the outset of the pragmatic analysis of this study, it must be noted that all acts of violence or killing in the corpus are potentially face-threatening acts for they bring bad news about their agents (whether backgrounded or foregrounded). However, the concern here is with whose face is baldly threatened without redress or whose face is saved and via what redressive politeness strategy.

Reuters A:

*A Palestinian suicide attack that **killed** 6 people:* representative speech act and FTA to Palestinian participants. The FTA is bald on record without redress.

*A woman bomber **left** the area **strewn** with pools of blood:* representative speech act describing the event combined with an expressive speech act stating pain and sorrow over victims. This is a positive politeness strategy indicating sympathy with Israeli victims. The speech acts also threaten the face of Palestinian participants.

*Arafat **accused** the Israeli forces of committing “massacres and slaughters”... an allegation the army has **denied**.* The representatives have a negative politeness strategy towards Israel. The reporter leaves himself/herself the option to deny a direct incrimination of Israeli forces via the use of scare quotes and the use of *allegation* in a marked theme position. Also, the verb *deny* is considered, according to Leech (1983), an argumentative speech act, since it supports the army’s truth claim against the Palestinian’s truth claim.

*US officials had **urged*** (directive speech act)... *Arafat **complied*** (commissive speech act)...

The speech acts show that the US has a strong authority and can punish Arafat. The “conditionality factor” does not give much choice to Arafat; therefore, Arafat complies. According to Leech (1983), the US intends uptake by Arafat to be taken for granted. This conditionality factor threatens H’s face baldly and in the most coercive, outspoken or direct way in order to recognize US legitimate authority over outgroups who have different hegemonic orders. Therefore, the translator takes action by modulating them, as seen in section 6.3.2, or by changing the conditionality factor of the speech act as will be seen later below.

TT:

الهجوم الأخير الذي نفذته شابة فلسطينية فجرت نفسها وقتلت ستة إسرائيليين

BT: *The last attack **carried out** by a young Palestinian woman who **blew herself up** and **killed** 6 Israelis* (representative speech acts).

The additional representative speech act *blew herself up* is meant to imply that she is the first affected participant before the killing of the Israelis. In this context, the representative *blew herself up* connotes a new signified (i.e. *Jihad* or *sacrifice*) to liberate

occupied lands. This yields an additional act of sympathy in the target situation (refer to section 2.4.1 on the system of connotative meanings). The repetition of this act in other Arabic texts makes it an indirect speech act because the declarative is used to express sorrow over the young bombers who blow themselves up to kill Israelis. The new act in Arabic is a covert positive politeness strategy that hedges expressions like *suicide bombers* and also their direct incrimination in the transitivity system in order to display common beliefs with the Arab audience towards the desperate bombers.

A similar example is seen in Reuters D:

*Some 12 hours after a Palestinian suicide bomber **killed** 9 people.* This representative act is shifted as follows:

TT:

بعد 12 ساعة من تفجير فلسطيني نفسه مما أدى الى مقتل تسعة أشخاص

BT: *Some 12 hours after a Palestinian suicide bomber **blew himself up** which resulted in killing 9 people.*

Here the illocutionary force implies that the Palestinian is affected first by the process. This redressive act in Arabic again shows a form of positive politeness strategy or hedging to focus first on the affected Palestinian who has a cause in the recipient culture.

Reuters A:

وأدى الانفجار الى برك من الدماء

BT: *The explosion **resulted in** pools of blood* (representative and direct speech act).

The speech act is not expressive as it was represented in the ST, nor does it intend to incriminate the woman bomber. The representative has a negative politeness strategy towards Palestinians. This hedging softens the impact of sympathy with Israeli victims before the Arab audience who prefers to hear more about the Palestinian victims in Nablus or Jenin.

As for Arafat's condemnation of Israeli attacks in the Arabic text, we observe the following speech acts:

BT: *But the Palestinian President's condemnation **included** the Israeli offensive as well. He **said** in the statement "We strongly and firmly condemn the carnage and massacres **that have been and are being committed** by the Israeli occupation forces against the*

Palestinian civilians and refugees in Nablus town and Jenin camp and against Al-Mahd church in Bethlehem and other Palestinian areas over the past two weeks.”

The representatives added in the TT are “assertive acts” (Leech, 1983) concerned with passing of information about Arafat’s actual condemnation without the truth claims made by the Israeli officials, as seen in the ST via the use of argumentative assertion. This obviously threatens the face of Israeli participants and claims sympathy with the Arabs, adding another positive politeness strategy towards them.

As for the unconditional verbs that assure Arafat will comply, we can observe the following shifts:

TT:

طلب البيت الأبيض... طلبت الإدارة الأميركية... واستجاب عرفات

BT:

*The White House **requested** (conditional directive)... the State Department **requested** (conditional directive)... Arafat **responded** (commissive indicating choice).*

The unconditional speech acts that were stated in the ST cannot be relayed in the same manner for they threaten Arafat’s credibility in the Arab world. Therefore, they become conditional in the TT. That is, the event of condemnation will not take place unless Arafat agrees, i.e. *responds*. Here Arafat is given a choice and hence a negative politeness strategy is observed. Arafat in the TT is under less imposition than was observed in the ST which merely recognizes the US power or authority.

Reuters B:

*Tanks stormed Arafat’s compound and **penned him in** for 10 days... Israel held to its policy of blaming the Palestinian Authority for the attack for failing to **rein in** militants...*

The representative speech acts can also be seen as expressives for they have a metaphorical structure implying a higher authoritative status over Palestinians. They also require a subject with the feature (+animate), thus connoting additional meanings. This connotative meaning seen in the metaphorical act presupposes power over Palestinians as well as relations of inequality. Such implied meanings are seen to be face-threatening in the target situation, therefore the translator resorts to redressive action by deleting these exaggerated representations in this formal news report that has a clear skopos, i.e. respecting Arabs’ negative-face wants.

Suicide bombers have killed scores of Israelis. The representative act here is bald on record towards the bombers who are incriminated in an active process without redress. This example also shows a positive politeness strategy towards the affected Israeli victims as it shows clear sympathy with them.

Adding to the gloomy mood of Israelis is another positive politeness strategy in the text towards Israelis. The representative act is also expressive in function for it implies the psychological state of Israelis that is furthermore put in a marked thematic structure.

The TT deletes the expressive acts containing animal metaphors or minimizes the expressive function that shows sympathy with the Israeli victims. This is seen in the deletion of the statement that incriminates *suicide bombers who killed scores of Israelis* and by adjusting the marked theme, as already seen in section 6.3.3.1. These are clearly redressive acts by the commission that hedge the positive politeness strategy given to Israeli participants in the ST and imply more solidarity with the position of Arabs.

Reuters C:

*The settlers were struck down by heavy gunfire which **poured into** a narrow alley...*

The representative and expressive speech act again shows the tendency in Reuters English to use metaphorical expressions in an expository news report implying sympathy and positive politeness strategy towards Israeli participants. Therefore, this expressive act along with its positive politeness strategy is, as expected, omitted from the TT.

*Swalha **described** the attack on the settlers as a 'remarkable operation'...*

According to Leech (1983) this is an argumentative or attitudinal assertive since it contends the truth claim made by the Palestinian official. The selective quotation creates distance from and disapproval of what the official has said as it does not show deference towards *Israeli settlers struck down by heavy gunfire*. The illocutionary force of this argumentative act communicates distance from his statement and threatens the face of such Palestinian officials.

TT:

وتعرض المستوطنون لاطلاق كثيف للنيران

BT:

*The settlers **came under** heavy gunfire...*

A representative speech act that merely states facts without exaggeration against Palestinians. This is another negative politeness strategy that leaves the commission the option to deny expressive acts or overt sympathies with Israeli victims.

TT:

وقال شلح: "ان هذا يأتي في سياق الرد على جريمة اغتيال القائد البطل قائد سرايا القدس الشهيد اياد صوالحة"

BT:

Swalha said (assertive and informative speech act) “*this comes in response to the assassination crime of the hero, the leader of Jerusalem’s brigade, martyr Iyad Swalha*”.

The assertive verb *said* is not attitudinal (cf. *described* in the ST) and is concerned with a unidirectional passing of information about the reality of what is said by this Palestinian official. This relays more relevant information to the targeted audience and shows one truth claim (Leech, 1983). This is another negative politeness strategy followed by the commission to minimize attitudinal imposition coming from the ST against Palestinians.

AFP A:

*Israel will start **building** on Sunday a massive security fence **to thwart** Palestinian attacks:*

Representative speech acts, bald on record towards Palestinians as they show the threat comes from them.

Israel has come to view the West Bank as a launching pad for suicide attacks (representative and expressive speech acts). The metaphorical structure exaggerates the threat coming from Palestinians, thus, baldly threatening the latter’s face. This is a positive politeness strategy used in the AFP text towards Israelis who are given more reasons via the metaphorical expression (i.e. the expressive function) to build the fence. As for the speech act *to thwart* we observe that the reporter is presupposing common ground with the audience that threat comes from Palestinians, thus making the speech act more felicitous.

TT:

تباشر غدا سلطات الاحتلال معاودة قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية بحجة اقامة ما تسميه جدارا أمنيا... وهكذا تنضم هذه القرية الى مثيلاتها القابعة تحت الاحتلال...

BT:

*The occupying authorities will start tomorrow **grabbing** (representative and expressive speech act) more Palestinian lands under the pretext of building **what they call** (an argumentative speech act to raise doubt) a security fence... Thus, this village **joins similar Palestinian villages suppressed under occupation** (a representative and expressive speech act implying sorrow and exaggerating threat). These are indirect speech acts for they are declaratives used to express sorrow over the state of *expansionism*. The speech acts are stating that there is a land seizure but simultaneously alerting the audience of a new threat coming from *occupying authorities*. It also functions to remind the audience of the state of war with Israel. Rather than using direct statements in a formal news report, the metaphorical expressions intend to imply that there is a serious threat coming from outgroups and also to communicate an ironic force about the *security* myth. The argumentative speech verb *what they call* shows the falseness of outgroups' statements and raises divisive issues that baldly threaten their face. However, we observe a positive politeness strategy towards Palestinians, for the expressives signal exaggeration that implies common ground with their cause, maximize sympathy with them and express sorrow over the *seizure policy*.*

AFP B:

*Israeli soldiers **killed**... HK **was killed**... A Q **was also killed**... 2 Palestinians **were arrested**...*

These are representative and assertive speech acts with no expressives used against Israelis. In other words, the text strategy does not tend to exaggerate these acts of killing which are bad news anyway. Also, the frequent usage of passive processes or agentless sentences adds to this hedging policy which avoids overt incrimination or exaggeration of Israeli acts. This is a negative politeness strategy that minimizes threat coming from legal groups/ subjects.

TT:

استشهد ثلاثة فلسطينيين برصاص جيش الاحتلال الصهيوني... أقدم جنود الاحتلال على اعدامهما... أقدمت قوات الاحتلال على اعتقال... ادعى... زعم متحدث عسكري صهيوني...

BT:

*Three Palestinians were martyred by the bullets of the Zionist occupying army... the occupying army **embarked boldly upon executing/ arresting** them... a Zionist military spokesman **claimed/ alleged**...*

Again, the representatives in Al-Manar are indirect speech acts used to describe an event and to express sorrow over what is happening to Palestinian victims. The speech acts *claim and allege* are representative and argumentative assertives, i.e. indirect acts that raise doubts about Israeli's truth claims. These speech acts baldly threaten Israel's face and credibility. On the other hand, they have a positive politeness strategy that maximizes sympathy with Palestinian participants.

AFP C:

An Israeli national was charged for spying for Lebanon's Shiite Muslim fundamentalist movement Hezbollah, a sworn foe of the Jewish state...

This is a representative speech act with an expansion which intends to imply the illegal status of Hezbollah group and to connote the negative character of an enemy.

Israeli security services confirmed/ said (assertive not argumentative speech verb).

This is a negative politeness strategy that gives credibility to truth claims by a legal source.

He was asked... he was also instructed... the militant group tasked him...

These are indirect speech acts. The representatives are used not merely to inform but to raise suspicion about Hezbollah activities whose acts are dressed up with suspicious directives, i.e. to get the Israeli national to spy for them. The implied meanings maximize disagreement with Hezbollah and baldly threaten their public face without raising a protest from the western audience who share the same background knowledge.

TT:

وجهت محكمة تل أبيب اتهاما لاسرائيلي بالتجسس لصالح حزب الله...

BT:

Tel Aviv court charged an Israeli with spying for Hezbollah (representative speech act).

Here the translation does not give the additional and negative information that was given in the ST about Hezbollah; otherwise the translator will be seen by his/her audience as being irrelevant. The connotative meaning which has a negative evaluation about Hezbollah was seen to be relevant in the ST but cannot be seen as relevant in the target, therefore is omitted from the translation.

BT:

*The Zionist security services **claimed**... the statement **alleged**...*

These are argumentative assertions comparing two truth claims: the commission's position vs. the truth claim made by Israelis. The illocutionary force of these argumentative assertions intends to create doubt and distance from the truth claims of Israeli officials and to threaten their political face without redress.

To recapitulate, the analysis of speech acts and politeness strategies in a politically sensitive text can be defined as follows:

- **The committal of an FTA without redress** in a formal and sensitive news report via the use of representatives in active processes incriminating illegal agents, implied meanings or indirect speech acts, expressives in addition to the informative function, argumentative assertions and unconditional directives in order to exaggerate the bad news about outgroups, to contend their truth claims and to show a great deal of power and authority over them, thus reinforcing bias and creating distance. In Reuters English and AFP this has been overtly observed to threaten the face of Arab participants and in Al-Manar to threaten the face of Israeli participants. These acts threaten both the negative and positive face of H without redress in order to bring more bad news about them and to create more distance. Another conclusion can be specifically drawn on the use of metaphors from a negative conceptual field such as (+animate) or (-human) register in a formal news report to imply biased meanings against outgroups. This is seen to be felicitous for it is based on commonly shared biased beliefs between the text producer and his/her audience regarding a specific group.

- **Negative Politeness** is seen in hedging or in softening the bad news about the killing acts of particular groups. This is achieved via avoiding expressive acts/ implied meanings against powerful, legal groups or ingroups in addition to the backgrounding of their agency; the use of non-argumentative assertion in order to agree on the truth claims made by ingroups; or the use of conditional directives to minimize imposition upon them and to give them more choice. These strategies have been found in Reuters English and AFP towards Israeli participants and in Reuters Arabic towards Palestinian participants.

- **Positive Politeness** is seen via the use of implied meaning, expressives and indirect speech acts that can communicate agreement or sympathy with ingroups or victims. This has been found in Reuters English and AFP towards Israelis, covertly in Reuters Arabic towards Palestinians and very overtly in Al-Manar towards Arab participants.

It can be established that a formal political news report cannot be seen as merely representative or informative, i.e. value-free, but rather as implicating an involved function with bias. The felicitousness of speech acts hinges on the agreement or sympathy maxims (see section 4.5.5) shared between the author and his/her audience. They also depend on the recognized authoritative and legal status of the participants whose face can be either saved or threatened without raising a protest. The latter is related to a Cooperative Principle governing relations between the text producer, commissioner and target receiver who seem to tolerate the types of speech acts and the politeness strategies or expressives given in a formal report (see contextual constraints above). Pragmatic and politeness shifting seems to be effective when the politeness maxims (i.e. agreement and sympathy) collide with those found in the ST. They become more effective when the authoritative status recognized in the ST becomes more costly to target recipients if relayed intact.

In general, it can be argued that all shifts observed so far imply a different ideological stance or an involved function towards the sensitive political event before the respective audience, thus reflecting different relations of power and solidarity.

6.3.5 Relevance (The Descriptive Use vs. The Interpretive Use)

Relevance will show how information seems credible and commonsensical to the audience or how it can provide further evidence of existing assumptions towards a particular event. Relevance that can analyse the subjective dimensions of context can be best addressed in terms of cognitive representations either descriptively or interpretively. As we have mentioned before, the descriptive use in political reporting represents thoughts, assumptions or utterances as being true descriptions of a state of affairs; whereas the interpretive use is representation by resemblance to some other thought or utterance. These representations will be our pragmatic tools to analyse what is seen as credible by media editors or receivers and what intentions are being communicated.

It can be said here that the above strategies seen in implied meanings, politeness, and semantic or syntactic transformations cannot be considered relevant and credible by the respective audience unless these strategies are eventually entertained as true thoughts rather than being entertained as claims made by Reuters or Al-Manar. This descriptive use cannot work or succeed without the shared contextual assumptions that save the audience the effort of going through unjustifiable effort to look for the desired effects of these different text strategies, for instance the modalities found in Al-Manar. But in order for one to best understand how relevance works in political reporting, it will be related here to one case study that can allow the discourse analyst to establish how the representations in the original text are being entertained and how they are being relayed into the TT. The case study below will handle instances of quoting and reporting in order to show what assumptions are believed to be true, what is ideologically more relevant and rewarding to the audience and what subjectivity or desired effects are being strengthened in a particular media society.

Reuters A:

*Arafat **accused** (evaluative speech verb) the Israeli forces of committing “massacres and slaughters” (scare quotes) against Palestinians.*

The interpretive use seen in the short scare quotes does not give enough resemblance to Arafat’s full utterance, views and position.

TT:

*He **said** (neutral speech verb) in the statement “We strongly and firmly condemn the carnage and massacres that have been and are being committed by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian civilians and refugees ...”*

The direct quoting is an interpretive use that has a complete resemblance to Arafat’s thought and utterance. In other words, the direct and longer quotation resembles the original in all linguistic properties to confirm the Arab’s negative schemata about Israeli forces and to strengthen an existing assumption about *massacres against Palestinians*. The long quotation is rewarding for it seems sufficiently relevant to be worth the Arab audience’s attention.

Reuters C:

*An ambulance worker **said** (neutral speech verb) the Israelis were caught in gunfire in an alley leading from the shrine to settler enclaves* (interpretive use with maximum resemblance).

*The army **said** (neutral speech verb) he was killed after he threw grenades at the soldiers* (interpretive use with maximum resemblance).

The interpretive use by the reporter which represents to a great extent the thoughts and utterances of Israeli participants is minimized in the TT by the deletion of these interpretive representations from the TT. In other words, the more the reporter echoes the Israeli thoughts or assumptions, the more the target commission tends to delete them.

*The head of Islamic Jihad R. Shallah **described** (evaluative speech verb) the attack on the settlers as a “remarkable operation”* (scare quotes with minimum resemblance). This minimal interpretive use is given in the TT maximum resemblance via the use of additional and direct quotations taken from other sources:

TT:

وقال شلح: "نعم لقد كان هناك اعلان من سرايا القدس... والمعلومات التي لدينا تؤكد هذا التبني"
وقال شلح: ان هذا "يأتي في سياق الرد على جريمة اغتيال القائد البطل الشهيد اياد صوالحة. هذا جزء من سلسلة
عمليات السرايا في الرد على هذه الجريمة"

BT:

*Shallah **said** (neutral speech verb) “yes there has been an announcement from Jerusalem’s brigades... the information we have now confirms this admission”.*

*Shallah **said** (neutral speech verb) “this comes in response to the assassination crime of the leader, the hero, martyr Iyad Sawalha. This is part of a series of operations by the brigade to respond to this crime”* (direct quoting with full interpretation of Shallah’s attributed thought and utterance). Here, the direct and lengthy quotation in the TT is more relevant because the Arab reader is more interested in maximum interpretive resemblance to these officials’ representations.

The above examples further show that English Reuters tends to use unmarked or neutral speech verbs before quoting or reporting what Israeli participants say. The propositions asserted after a neutral verb are representations that resemble in content to a large extent the utterances or thoughts of Israelis. This interpretive resemblance that enhances the

credibility and value of Israeli voices is seen to be shifted or de-emphasized in the TT via the deletions that have been noted.

Another observation is taken from the use of evaluative speech verbs (e.g. *accused*, *described*) before scare quoting what Palestinian officials say. According to Bell (1991), the reporting verbs become evaluative when they reflect the stance of the reporter “to the statement that follows... keying the audience in to how to interpret the speaker’s statement” (Bell, 1991: 207). The statements by Palestinian officials that follow the evaluative speech verbs are represented with least interpretive resemblance in order to create distance from what they described or said. Therefore, Reuters Arabic makes the necessary effort by restoring the full quotations of Palestinian officials, thus achieving complete interpretive resemblance to what is asserted by them. This literal interpretation of the Arab officials’ thoughts ensures that their voices are heard more before the Arab audience and heard without the use of evaluative speech verbs. The TT audience finds the full quotation more relevant if it is preceded by a neutral speech verb that does not give negative assumptions about the representation.

It can be argued that all direct quotations with maximum interpretive resemblance are eventually entertained descriptively by the commission. That is, they convey a different ideological stance that asserts and describes a different state of affairs about the actual event.

AFP A:

*The project aims to “prevent the infiltration of Palestinian terrorists and explosives into Israel”, the defence ministry statement **said**.*

The verb “said” is a neutral speech verb preceded by a proposition that gives, in addition to cause or assumption of threat, complete resemblance to what Israelis say, i.e. a case of interpretive use. It also resembles what is asserted as true thoughts in other parts in the text (e.g. *security fence to thwart Palestinian attacks, reducing threat to Israel*, etc...). Although the text strategy provides interpretive representations that resemble Israeli utterances, we simultaneously observe a descriptive use via the assertions of *security*. All assertions about *security* and *threat* coming from Palestinians involve a descriptive relation between the reporter’s thoughts and the building of a security fence. In other words, AFP commits to the truth of Israel’s security and strengthens this assumption via quoting and reporting interpretively what Israeli participants say.

This pragmatic strategy is obviously not relayed into the TT. Al-Manar's translator gives different contextual effects. S/he first gives an interpretive representation resembling the abstract event: i.e. *Israel builds a security fence*. Then, s/he gives a counter-descriptive representation via re-lexicalization, modalization, implied meanings, and furthermore evaluative speech verbs as we clearly see in the following examples:

بحجة ما تسميه جداراً أمنياً

ما يسمى بالجدار الأمني

BT: *under the pretext of what they call... the so-called security fence.*

These reporting verbs which are observed in similar texts by Al-Manar are descriptively used to question the truth of security rather than conveying the position of Israel into the TT. In other words, rather than relaying the security position under an interpretive or faithful use of translation, we observe a descriptive use by the translator who has to deal with a sensitive media text. The commissioned task and the processing effort require from the translator the questioning of ST assumptions or presuppositions. If Al-Manar's translator gives a complete interpretive resemblance to represent the assumptions of Israelis as AFP does s/he will be accused of being ideologically irrelevant and non-credible to his/her audience. Furthermore, the audience will find the interpretive use in translation irrelevant to their expectations. It must be emphasized that if skopos does not require access to the original Israeli voices or verbatim reports of what they actually said, representation by maximum resemblance will not be rewarding. In fact, it will disturb the ideological schema about the Self and the Other, and the translator could not defend himself/herself by saying that AFP/ Israel believed this information to be true (see Gutt, 2000).

AFP C:

An Israeli national was charged in a Tel Aviv district court with spying for Lebanon's Shiite Muslim Fundamentalist movement Hezbollah, public radio reported.

"Reported" is a neutral speech verb reporting an event with an interpretive representation resembling the utterances of Israeli public radio. The TT translates the event interpretively, however, with a descriptive stance:

TT:

وجهت محكمة تل أبيب اتهاماً لإسرائيلي بالتجسس لصالح حزب الله... وفق ما قالت إذاعة العدو.

BT:

Tel Aviv court charged an Israeli national with spying for Hezbollah (interpretive translation)... **according to what the enemy's radio said** (descriptive use that conveys the position of Al-Manar). The descriptive use has an evaluative reporting expression reflecting the attitudinal stance of the target text.

AFP D:

"I also had an opportunity to express our appreciation for the cooperation of the Lebanese government against individual groups connected with the al-Qaeda network and expressed our continuing concern about Hezbollah activities," said Burns.

"Said" is a neutral speech verb following an interpretive representation resembling the thoughts and utterances of Burns.

TT:

وفي ختام لقاء مع الرئيس اللبناني العماد اميل لحود في بيروت عبر عن قلق الولايات المتحدة العميق واهتمامها بالحفاظ على الهدوء على الخط الأزرق معربا عن قلق بلاده حيال أنشطة حزب الله على حد تعبيره.

BT:

After talks with Lebanese President Emile Lahoud in Beirut, Burns expressed the strong US concern about maintaining calm on the blue line and expressed his country's concern about Hezbollah activities (interpretive use of translation), **in his opinion**. The latter is an evaluative reporting expression used descriptively to relay a different stance into the TT.

We observe that the interpretive use of translation represents Burns' thoughts by least resemblance. The content of al-Qaeda has been eliminated from the translation for it contradicts with existing assumptions in the Arab world that believe the two organizations cannot be related to each other. Therefore, the elimination of this assumption that basically represents the views of Burns makes it more relevant in the target situation. The evaluative reporting clause is used descriptively to post-modify Burn's utterances so that they are reported indirectly in the TT. The descriptive use put in the reporting clause serves the commission's judgment regarding the relevance of Burn's proposition which does not match with the real assumptions of the Arab audience about Hezbollah. The latter is believed to be a legitimate and respectable entity in the Arab world that resists occupation.

In conclusion, we can argue that any ideological stance is a case of descriptive use. This descriptive use is responsible for shifts in translation, especially when it touches upon sensitive topics. The model in this study has been concerned with establishing a comparison between the interpretive or descriptive use found in the ST vs. that found in the TT. As we have seen in our case study the interpretive or descriptive representations were not matching; yet the effect seen in the TT seems to achieve optimal relevance to the new audience. This is owing to the fact that the translator resorts to descriptive translation to make the TT more relevant to the new audience.

Furthermore, relevance in the TT tends to establish maximum interpretive resemblance with the propositions or thoughts and utterances of ingroups and without the use of evaluative reporting verbs. This latter strategy that is also followed in the source texts seems to be maximally relevant, for it confirms existing assumptions and gives legitimacy to the statements of ingroups. In other words, maximum interpretive representation enhances the factualness and credibility of these voices rather than distancing them. On the other hand, representations by least interpretive resemblance, preferential quoting, selective scare quoting or the use of attitudinal speech verbs is an overt descriptive strategy. The latter confirms one's biased schema about the event and about outgroups voices that remain distant. The more the text user eliminates an interpretive resemblance with outgroup statements, the more this representation becomes relevant to ingroups' different assumptions, thus keeping the audience's processing effort to a minimum in order to benefit from the informative news event.

Van Dijk's conception of relevance also adds to our conclusion, as he clearly states:

“Powerful and credible sources are used and quoted most... Less powerful groups or opposition voices receive less attention, lower relevance, and have the highest probability of being deleted” (Van Dijk, 1988: 136).

6.3.6 Concluding Remarks on the Text Strategy of a Politically Sensitive Text

In the second part of the analysis we have shown that all components of text strategy, i.e. semantic content, syntactic or structural organization dressed up with pragmatic strategies, work in harmony to articulate the contextual factors examined under the first part of the analysis. That is to say, hegemony, interpellation, power relations, cognition and skopos give legitimate and practical reasons for the final semantic, structural and pragmatic choices found in a politically motivated text. The innovative and important findings of text strategy found in this research are summarized in table 6.5. The findings are polarized according to Van Dijk's conception of group schema (see sections 3.4 and 4.3):

The text strategy that is used and can be used against outgroups	The text strategy that is used and can be used for ingroups
Emphasizes outgroup agency in a thematized position where presupposed incrimination and negative naming systems become structurally prominent. The structural development can be carried forward via expansion. The latter has the capacity to provide the conditions and circumstantial features especially (circumstances of cause and manner) to enhance, extend or elaborate that threat is caused by outgroups or dissidents, thus furthering their incrimination.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - De-emphasizes (i.e. using regular cases of nominalization/ passivization) or deletes ingroup agency in acts of violence. - Deletes from the transitivity system especially from the circumstantial element causes that incriminate them. It rather utilizes circumstances of extent or location. - Increases the number of affected participants in the transitivity system for those perceived as worthy victims.
Modalizes outgroups' statements and modulates their political inclinations to delegitimize their discourses and create distance from and doubts about them.	Uses modal expressions to support ingroup political stances. Also modulates obligations on the part of ingroups to save their political face.
Utilizes a negative collocational network with hyperbole that weaves through structure and syntax to enhance outgroups negative actions and characteristics.	Follows a neutral naming system without attributes to describe ingroup agency and utilizes a legal collocational chain to positively categorize them and legitimate their acts and reasons.
De-emphasizes or excludes information on their affected participants or victims from the collocational network or the expansion structure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emphasizes ingroup assumptions or perceptions in a marked theme. - Avoids foregrounding agency in a thematic position during reports of violence.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dresses outgroups' negative actions up with implied meanings, indirect speech acts, or metaphors taken from +animate domains. - Shows a great deal of power over outgroups (if least powerful) via the common use of unconditional directives when action is demanded. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Avoids using indirect speech acts, or implied meanings in statements that describe ingroup acts of violence during war or struggle. - Tends to minimize imposition upon ingroups via the common use of conditional directives when action is required during times of political struggle.
Baldly threatens their negative and positive face without redressive strategies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uses a negative politeness strategy in order to background ingroups' direct incrimination, to recognize their legal status or to minimize imposition upon them. - Uses expansion, hyperbole, expressive speech acts and positive politeness strategy when sympathizing with ingroup victims.
Quotes them least in the text or quotes them with least interpretive resemblance using attitudinal reporting verbs to suppress their voices.	Quotes their voices with maximum interpretive resemblance and with neutral reporting verbs to legitimate their voices.

Table 6.5 A summary of the text strategies found in the present study

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Summary of the Objectives and Methods of Analysis

The broad aim of this study has been to investigate the issue of political sensitivity in daily media translations from English into Arabic especially during times of political struggle. More precisely, starting from the assumption that the analysis of discourse shifts practised in real-life political translations in the Arabic media should unravel the constraints and text strategies that characterize a politically motivated text, the study has sought to identify these contextual constraints and describe the linguistic features that can, in general, typify politically sensitive discourses.

In order to investigate this controversial issue, a number of sources were drawn on (e.g. from semiotics, especially poststructuralist approaches; Marxist and neo-Marxist conceptions of ideology; pragmatics; sociolinguistics; critical discourse analysis; and modern translation studies on discourse and ideology) in an attempt to develop a multidisciplinary framework which could accommodate the objectives of this study and to design a new model for the critical analysis of politically sensitive discourses.

These issues were investigated in a corpus of media texts, which fulfilled strict criteria for inclusion, taken from Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters along with their respective translations into Arabic by Al-Manar TV Satellite Station and Reuters Arabic Online Report. The criteria relate, for example, to the institutional ideological contexts, the cognitive dimensions of the political events and the editorial constraints that may control their productions and finally the textual, structural and pragmatic features that characterize them.

In order to ensure that the study's findings would be more meaningful, empirical and generalisable, it has also relied upon essential feedback given by the target texts' editors and translators during the course of analysis, in addition to technical feedback from many translation students at the Lebanese University.

In general, qualitative methods for analysis were used to describe the textual and pragmatic features that recur throughout the corpus and to explain the crucial factors and the functions which underlie their productions.

7.2 Main Findings of the Study

A number of findings emerged from the qualitative analyses, but those which are most significant are the shifts carried out at the level of text strategy while translating politically sensitive issues into the Arabic media and during a period marked by political struggle.

The consistent occurrences of shifts presented in Chapter 6 pointed to the fact that there is a politically sensitive context and that it was best articulated via particular trends in the transitivity and modal systems, texture and pragmatic use. The findings argued that under a politically motivated context, one may observe that:

- preferred choices in the transitivity system and the thematic structuring can be strategic tools that can incriminate illegal subjects/ outgroups and can give causes to further their incrimination;
- the lexical inter-chaining seen via collocation can be instrumental in categorizing and de/legitimizing groups and their actions;
- the modal system and the pragmatic strategies of speech acts and politeness are efficient in reflecting the political and attitudinal inclinations toward the political event and affected victims, power relations between countries, and the political face of text participants;
- the notion of relevance that was examined in terms of the interpretive use vs. descriptive use in the case of political quoting and reporting was able to show whose political voices are being legitimized or suppressed in a political report and what political assumptions are strengthened or believed to be true.

All of these components were seen to work harmoniously in every media text despite their different linguistic functions (i.e. ideational, interpersonal, textual or pragmatic).

The analysis of the English media texts that were subjected to the same methods of analysis have shown strikingly similar trends in the transitivity and modal systems,

texture and pragmatic use in order to articulate particular hegemonic orders, knowledge and belief systems, power relations or a particular editorial stance and to categorize groups. Although the trends were similar, they were not, however, equivalent to those found in the target texts. The fact that similar trends were found in text strategy in both source and target texts indicated that there is a politically motivated context that impinges on a typical text strategy. This strategy eventually saves the political face of the participants who have already been constructed by the concerned media agency as legal subjects in the text, and makes their discourses relevant to their respective audiences.

The contrastive analyses were expanded in a novel way to be carried out also at particular contextual levels (e.g. dominant hegemony, interpellation of subjects, power and solidarity relations, cognition and skopos), thus bringing work on ideology, cognition and skopos from levels of abstraction to a practical and empirical method of analysis. The contextual analyses have also shown consistent occurrences of shifts in terms of the dominant hegemony; the positioning of subjects; the claims for power or solidarity between subjects; the negative and biased representations about outgroups; and the commission/ producers' interpersonal and communicative intentions.

We also observed that all the contextual components were seen to sustain one another to control the final production and interpretation of every media text. Moreover, it was argued that these factors worked harmoniously with the linguistic trends found at the level of text strategy, eventually to characterize a politically sensitive discourse and to give it its final legitimate, credible and practical function/ stamp, we usually see in the media.

Since the above contextual factors and text strategy trends were prevalent in the corpus in spite of the variety of events and original authors, and since the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic transformations indicated that the translator is well aware of foreign hegemony, beliefs and knowledge systems or editorial intentions that underlie the ST, it is argued here that the contextual factors and text strategy identified in this model of analysis, whether relayed or not into the TT, are necessary components that need to be examined in the study of any politically sensitive discourse that fulfils the same criteria as the texts used in this study.

It was further argued that all components of text strategy that are politically motivated are in core descriptive, for they represented and asserted what the text producer believed to be credible, true and relevant to his/her audience about the political event. Indeed, the study of the descriptive use of translation seen via discourse shifts (e.g. transformation in syntax, texture or pragmatic use) has been able to unravel the kind of ideological assumptions, the group schema, cognitive bias, subjective interpretations or preferred readings that characterize the cognitive environment of a politically motivated discourse - an area seriously neglected by interpretive approaches to translation (cf. Gutt, 2000).

Therefore, in Chapter 5 it was suggested that this translation strategy should not be sidelined by translation studies, but be studied in its own right in order to understand more facts about the constraints that seem to influence the translator's decision in daily media translations, and to gain further insights into the real ideological and pragmatic functions of the translational act, hence, deepen our understanding of the language-ideology relationship.

Moreover, we argued that the descriptive use of translation that deconstructs the hegemony, pragmatic intentions, or structures of the ST, and avoids relaying them into the TT, must be exercised with caution and be examined basically within the ideological framework (Chapter 3) that legitimates its use or within the skopos constraint (Chapters 5 and 6) that decides on either channelling the above factors and motivated text strategies or resisting them in the TT.

7.3 Original Contribution

Although the field of translation studies has recently focused on the subject of ideology, power relations, cognition and relevance, and critical language awareness in translation, it has been difficult to see how any of these studies to date can empirically investigate a politically sensitive discourse in media translations or describe its common text strategy which can influence the reading position of the audience. In fact, as seen in Chapter 5, many approaches to translation are prescriptive in nature, in that they tend to measure the TT against the degree of linguistic, cultural, pragmatic or semiotic correspondence with the ST. On the other hand, the descriptive and target-oriented approaches to translation which helped provide an empirical insight into this study have lacked critical discourse

analysis models (in Fairclough's 2001 sense) that can describe and interpret the actual text strategies one is likely to encounter in the target situation.

Furthermore, translation studies on cognition/ relevance have sidelined the descriptive use of translation and the fact that its study, as we have seen throughout this research, can in fact lead to important cognitive factors (in Van Dijk's 1998 sense of ideological group schema or biased mental representations) that characterize the cognitive environment of a politically motivated discourse. In this respect, then, this study has taken a tentative first step in the critical analysis of discourse shifts from a descriptive-oriented perspective in addition to studying the importance and implications of the descriptive use in politically sensitive translations.

The discourse analysis model encompassing the interface of hegemony-cognition-skopos and the toolkit arrived at in Chapter 6 is also an original attempt to analyse and/or compare politically sensitive discourses. According to information to date, this research is probably the first corpus-based study of media translation from famous news agencies such as Reuters and AFP into Arabic.

Finally, the creation of the semiotic, ideological, CDA and translation theoretical frameworks (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5) that build on poststructuralist approaches, critical discourse studies, Marxist philosophy and functional approaches to language have been formulated in this study in a novel way in order to guide similar research on how best to interpret and explain what can be seen by state apparatuses as politically sensitive or marked discourses.

7.4 Limitations of the Study and Indications for Further Research

As is the case with any research, the present study is subject to a number of limitations, hence encourages various ways in which the study of politically sensitive texts could be taken further.

Firstly, the corpus would need to be enlarged so as to comprise other genres besides political news reporting, such as politically motivated texts in literary translations. It has been concluded that the corpus carries multiple advantages, most notably with respect to the representativity and generalisability of the findings. Our defensible criteria have been

the qualitative methods of analysis; the fact that the texts have been chosen at random; they were produced by different authors, translators and agencies; were consulted with media editors and translators as well as students of translation from the Lebanese University; and the main texts (refer to Appendix A) were compared with other texts taken from western and Arab media sources which handled the same events of the main corpus (refer to Appendix B). Moreover, it has been observed by the author that, to date, Al-Manar and Reuters Arabic Online Report still produce their political translations in the same manner as presented in this study.

Based on our findings and qualitative methods, we suggest that investigating literary translations which are politically motivated within the methods of analysis proposed in this study would further validate our findings on the type of text strategy that is produced under politically sensitive situations.

A further limitation concerns the text-types used for analysis. In this study the concern has been to analyse expository text-types which are politically motivated or might cause threat if used interpretively in the daily media translations. Therefore, an obvious development would be to investigate expository text-types that are not politically motivated, nor threatening to moral or political orders. This will make it possible to see whether the translations of such texts would lead to the same type of shifts or descriptive use seen in this study. Studying non-threatening exposition will be able to either confirm or de-validate all the conclusions on the language-ideology relationship defined in this study.

Furthermore, the richness of the analytical concepts and methods of analysis cannot be exhaustive in this study. Another way forward would be to investigate other constraints such as religion, other institutional apparatuses, or other cognitive dimensions that may give more sensitive meanings to a politically motivated discourse. Moreover, our model for analysis is not all-encompassing and requires other tools for analysis, such as the hypotactic vs. paratactic structures (see Halliday, 1994) and deictic expressions that may also have linguistic implications. Another area that is worthy of investigation is the visual or image effects attached to texts in the corpus. Owing to limitations of space, this study could not examine the transformation seen in the visual effects in Reuters Arabic texts. By examining the types of semiotic and ideological constructs discussed in this study, it

would be possible to analyse the effects of other tools that give the political text its sensitive status.

A final note concerns the descriptive use adopted in the sensitive translation of Reuters texts into Arabic. We may argue that the Arab audience is not aware of the descriptive use seen in the above translations. Probably a certain group of the Arab audience might be looking for a translation along the lines of an interpretive use because the politically sensitive representations are not felt to resemble very faithfully the original's contextual effect. A way forward would be to carry out an empirical research on the audience itself to investigate its real ideological expectations from such translations. Nevertheless, the feedback that was collected from the students of the Translation Center at the Lebanese University indicated that the shifts seen in Reuters Arabic are justifiable for they, in the end, avoid creating an unfavourable response from the large Arab audience.

7.5 Practical Implications

The usefulness of studies such as this should have practical implications for the training of translators, media text producers or political speakers.

The important pedagogical implications are as follows:

- Translation trainees need to be aware of the interdependence of hegemony, power relations, cognitive models, and commission (in terms of purpose and language function) along with their effects on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic choices in the politically motivated text. The interlinked networks of context and text as presented in Chapter 6 need to be taught during the comparative analysis of politically motivated or sensitive discourses.
- By following the poststructuralist, ideological and critical language analysis frameworks of Chapters 2, 3, 4, the trainee translator will learn how to decode, describe and explain a political sign that has been ideologically and subjectively constructed, and how to interpret its causal process, and therefore to decide whether to relay or challenge it in the target text according to the given skopos.

- By following the translation studies framework of Chapter 5, the trainee translator should be able to investigate discourse shifts in translation and discern whether they are culturally or ideologically motivated. S/he will also learn how to define the translation strategy of shifts and also how to constrain the descriptive use of translation.

Obviously, our theoretical frameworks and discourse analysis model can make another useful contribution to the study of political discourse analysis or other related political studies. For instance, the analysis of a discourse given by Bin Laden or Saddam Hussein will be more meaningful if it follows our complex disciplinary basis and qualitative methods of analysis including e.g. the use of hegemonic collocational networks, hyperbole, portrayal of worthy vs. unworthy victims or prejudiced syntactic structures.

Moreover, the generalizations reached in Chapter 6 on the strategies that can describe and categorize ingroups vs. outgroups feed into wider sets of ethical and ideological issues in media studies. Journalists, news editors or political speakers whose discourses reach the public through the mass media should be able to benefit somehow from these suggested strategies in order to either legitimate or de-legitimate the discourses of other nations and most importantly to influence the mind of the targeted populace.

Indeed, to engage in the critical analysis of some specific type of ideological discourse makes us question and challenge aspects of domination and the way it can be reproduced in such important social domains as politics and the media. Focusing on language including discourse shifts in translation would enhance our understanding of political struggle as well as the socio-political constraints that operate around politically motivated translations, an issue which is of interest not only to scholars of translation, but also to media elites and politicians.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

References of Main English Media Sources and their Target Texts in the Corpus (Titles and Dates of Articles):

Reuters English (A)

Arafat Condemns Jerusalem Bombing, Meets U.S. Demand, 13 April 2002.

Reuters Arabic

عرفات يدين هجوم القدس ملبياً مطالب أميركا،

13 April 2002

Reuters English (B)

Israel Weighs Retaliation for Bus Bomb, 22 October 2002.

Reuters Arabic

اسرائيل تبحث الرد على هجوم انتحاري،

22 October 2002

Reuters English (C)

12 Dead in Hebron Attack, 15 November 2002.

Reuters Arabic

اسرائيل تبدأ الرد على مقتل 12 مستوطناً في هجوم بالخليل،

15 November 2002

Reuters English (D)

Palestinians Kill Seven as Violence Escalates, 3 March 2002.

Reuters Arabic

فلسطينيون يقتلون سبعة اسرائيليين بالضفة،

3 March 2002

Reuters English (E)

Powell to Brief Bush on Middle East Efforts, 18 April 2002.

Reuters Arabic

باول يطلع بوش على نتائج مهمته الشرق أوسطية،

18 April 2002

Reuters English (F)

West Bank Raid after Bus Bombing, 18 June 2002.

Reuters Arabic

شهود: اسرائيل تدخل جنين بعد تفجير الثلاثاء،

18 June 2002

AFP (A)

Positioning of Israel's Security Fence Awakens Fears, 14 June 2002.

Al-Manar TT

الجدار الأمني،

15 June 2002

AFP (B)

Israeli Troops Kill Three Palestinians in West Bank, 7 January 2004.

Al-Manar TT

نابلس – انسحاب،

7 January 2004

AFP (C)

Israeli Accused of Spying for Hezbollah, 27 June 2002.

Al-Manar TT

حزب الله – جاسوس،

28 June 2002

AFP (D)

Burns Urges Calm on Lebanon-Israel Border, Support for US Peace, 4 June 2002.

Al-Manar TT

بيرنز – لبنان،

5 June 2002

AFP (E)

Palestinian Teenager Shot Dead in West Bank, 3 April 2003.

Al-Manar TT

مقتل فلسطيني،

5 April 2003

APPENDIX B

References of the Supporting Media Texts

(Titles and Dates of Articles):

AFP

Five Hindus gunned down in Indian-controlled Kashmir, 16 June 2002.

Missile kills Eight Iraqi civilians, hospital says, 3 April 2003.

Al-Manar English News

Burns, 5 June 2002.

Israeli Wall, 15 June 2002.

Hezbollah Spy, 28 June 2002.

A heavily orchestrated back-to-back Palestinian ambush, 16 November 2002.

BBC News

Bush renews attack on 'axis of evil', 18 April 2002.

Arafat defiant after HQ raid, 6 June 2002.

Independent

Suicide bomber kills 19 in Passover feast massacre, 28 March 2002.

Reuters

Suicide bomber kills at least 15 in Israeli Hotel, 27 March 2002.

Islamic nations struggle to define terrorism, 2 April 2002.

Islamic Ministers condemn terror, 3 April 2002.

The Daily Star

Lone Sniper kills 10 Israelis at checkpoint, 4 March 2002.

Arab Summit - in their own words: What the delegates had to say, 28 March 2002.

Arafat: 'We want a peace of the brave', 28 March 2002.

President G.Bush's speech on the Middle East, 5 April 2002.

Resistance Leader calls on Arab media to promote hope, target western audiences, 18 September 2003.

The Guardian

Beware the martyr, 30 March 2002.

Text of Bush remarks on Middle East, 30 March 2002.

At 18, bomber became martyr and murderer, 31 March 2002.

Bush: 'enough is enough', 4 April 2002.

Israeli tanks attack Arafat's HQ, 6 June 2002.

Israel to reoccupy lands, 19 June 2002.

The New York Times

Explosion in Jerusalem follows Powell's meeting with Sharon, 12 April 2002.

U.S. plans announced after Arafat condemned terrorism, 13 April 2002.

At least 16 die as car bomber hits Israeli bus, 5 June 2002.

Israel acts to seize Palestinian land after 19 die in blast, 19 June 2002.

Israel weighs response after 12 killed in Hebron ambush, 16 November 2002.

The New York Times and the Washington Post

Bomber kills 15 in Israel, over 100 hurt in hotel at beginning of Passover, 28 March 2002.

Times

Suicide bomber kills 20 at Israeli resort, 28 March 2002.

Al-Ahram

القوات الاسرائيلية تفتحم مقر عرفات وتدمر غرفة نومه وتقصف مدينة رام الله،

6 June 2002

Al-Anwar

اسرائيل تصعد تهديداتها بعد عملية القدس،

19 June 2002

Al-Hawadeth

كلمة خادم الحرمين الشريفين والأمير عبد الله للحجاج والمسلمين والعالم: السعودية تدعو للتفريق بين الارهاب وحقوق المقاومة،

1 March 2002

Al-Jazeera

استجابة لشروط واشنطن لعقد الاجتماع مع بول: عرفات يدين العمليات ضد اسرائيل... نبيل عمرو يقول للجزيرة ان هذه الادانة كانت أحد الشروط الاساسية للبدء في معالجة الأزمة الحالية،

13 April 2002

Al-Kifah Al-Arabi

استشهادية في القدس تقتل 6 وتجرح 89،

13 April 2002

Al-Manar

كشمير / قصف،

16 June 2002

آخر مستجدات العدوان الامريكي على العراق،

4 April 2003

Al-Mustaqbal

اشارات الأسد تثير نقاشا بين الصحفيين،

28 March 2002

خطابا المقاومة والمبادرة للأسد وعبد الله من بيروت،

28 March 2002

لحدود: المقايضة تحصل بين التضحيات وبين السلام العادل،

28 March 2002

اسرائيل تدق طبول الحرب وتنعى مهمة زيني: 19 قتيلا اسرائيليا و130 جريحا بعملية استشهادية،

28 March 2002

اسرائيل تجتاح رام الله ومقر الرئاسة وتحشد احتياطها في حرب شاملة على السلام،

30 March 2002

بوش يطالب اسرائيل بالانسحاب من الضفة، يتهم عرفات بخيانة "آمال شعبه" ويرسل بول،

5 April 2002

استشهادية من كتائب الأقصى تقتل 6 وتجرح العشرات في القدس،

13 April 2002

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18 April 2002

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6 June 2002

Annahar

لحدود: كل السلام في مقابل كل الحقوق والخطر الكبير أن نقبل بالضغط الدولية،

28 March 2002

عرفات رحب بمبادرة عبد الله "السلام الشجعان" وأكد التمسك بالقرارات الدولية،

28 March 2002

الأسد: المبادرة تحترم الثوابت القومية ويجب تحصينها واقتراح قطع العلاقات مع اسرائيل واستمرار الانتفاضة ودعم المقاومة،

28 March 2002

الأمين العام لمنظمة المؤتمر الاسلامي: دعم مادي ومعنوي للفلسطينيين ومطالبة اسرائيل دوليا بتعويضهم،

28 March 2002

Assafir

ابادة جنود حاجز: 21 قتيلا اسرائيليا واستشهاد 7 فلسطينيين،

4 March 2002

17 قتيلا اسرائيليا و40 جريحا في الذكرى الـ 35 لسقوط القدس: حركة الجهاد تهدم السور الواقى وتروع اسرائيل،

6 June 2002

عملية القدس توقع 19 قتيلا و 70 جريحا... وتعذل خطط بوش وشارون،

19 June 2002

الجهاد تعلن مسؤوليتها عن العملية المتقنة... وشارون يحتج الى مجلس الأمن

استشهاديان يحولان معسكرا للاحتلال الى جحيم

12 قتيلا اسرائيليا بينهم قائد لواء الخليل،

16 November 2002

فضل الله مخاطبا الغربيين: لماذا لا يكون لديكم عقدة ضد معاداة أي مجموعة دينيا؟

9 December 2004

BBC Arabic

على العرب التمييز بين القتلة والشهداء،

18 April 2002

عرفات أكثر اصرارا بعد الغارة على مقره،

6 June 2002

Reuters Arabic Online Report

فلسطيني يفجر نفسه ويقتل عدة أشخاص في نتانيا،

27 March 2002

APPENDIX C

Names of Students from The Translation and Languages Centre at the Lebanese University who analysed the Main Texts in the Corpus:

Chadia Nohra

Elise Saad

Elise Zwein

Ghia El Badran

Hadil Hani

Hanadi Dagher

Haneen Malaeb

Jacques el Kik

Lara Abu Ali

Layal Mroue

Lyn Waked

Marina el Kotob

Maryam Ayyash

Maya Macaroon

Maya Sawwan

Naila Abi Ad

Ola Koteish

Rana Shayya

Ranya Mirshaq

Rein Matar

Rita Al-Asmar

Rita El-Yahchouchy

Sara Jbeily

Silina Aoun

Yasmine El-Kharat

Excerpts

In the students' own words on the main texts in the corpus:

1- Positioning of Israel's security fence awakens fears

Israel will start building... معاودة قضم الأراضي الفلسطينية

The translator operated a shift in the meaning of the material process “building”. The agent in the ST was “Israel”; however, the translator rendered it “سلطات الاحتلال” for the purpose of incriminating the Israelis and presenting the Palestinians as victims. The target (goal) was also changed, and instead of the wall, the translator used الأراضي الفلسطينية to sympathize with the Palestinians.

The perlocutionary speech act imprints a negative impression about the Israelis in the minds of the readers. Moreover, it could carry a warning to other Arabs that Israel is again stealing lands (معاودة قضم) so they ought to be cautious about it.

This speech act is classified as representative, for both the ST author and the translator are conveying what they believe to be the truth; therefore, the differences in their opinions were reflected in their texts.

To thwart Palestinian attacks... بحجة اقامة ماتسميه جدارا أمنيا

The author applies the method of expansion, namely that of extension, as he justifies the cause for which Israel is building the wall; whereas in the translation, the element of extension is made less credible by the usage of the comment adjunct of mood “بحجة”. The resulting implicature from this rendering is the impression that Israel is using the wall as a pretext to confiscate more Palestinian lands; and even though it is not explicitly expressed, it is rather communicated through the adjunct.

With respect to the maxims, the translator broke several of them. He conspicuously violated the maxim of quality by accusing the Israeli state of trickery without providing any prior evidence to support his claims. Furthermore, the maxim of quantity is also violated because the translator eliminated almost half of the ST.

Politeness: As the ST is marked by a rather negative politeness toward Israel (Israel, Israeli authorities, Israeli media) the translator diligently attempted to incriminate and accuse Israel by going bald on record. This is made clear by the repetition of the word احتلال five times, and قضم two times, as well as the usage of certain expressions such as القابعة تحت to express enmity toward Israel. On the other hand, he uses positive politeness when referring to the Palestinians as a means of sympathy toward them.

The collocation related to Palestinians in the ST have to do with “attacks”, “threat”, “terrorists” and “explosives”. The image that the author wishes to give about the Palestinians is that of terrorists, therefore the collocations have taken this turn. Whereas in the TT, the collocations related to the Palestinians are الأراضي المحتلة، القابعة تحت الاحتلال in order to show compassion with the Palestinians and portray them as victims. The collocations related to Israel in the ST are “Israeli authorities, Israeli sources, Israeli media” to legitimize their position, whereas in the TT the collocations aim to illegitimate it (سلطات الاحتلال، أوساط الاحتلال، الصحيفة الصهيونية).

By Jacques el Kik, Hanadi Dagher, Sara Jbeily, Marina el Kotob

2- Burns urges calm

From English into Arabic, we notice some changes. The first thing to be noticed in the translation process is thematic changes. Thematic changes are made for the sake of news reporting. Because the translated text is meant to be read as a news report, it is designed in a way that leaves no room for any confusion or misunderstanding.

As the audiences of the two texts differ, the channel of communication consequently differs as well as ideology, collocations, naming and referencing, elements of modality, etc... Addressing the Arab audience imposes on the translator some conditions and obligations that he cannot dispense with especially in political text types in which ideology plays a major role. In the Arabic text translated for Al-Manar television, Israel is most likely to be translated فلسطين المحتلة and not اسرائيل; it is a matter of collocation that cannot be neglected and that expresses one's attitude towards a particular issue. Such naming and referencing is imposed by the beliefs and ideology of Al-Manar which sympathizes with the Palestinians and supports their cause. Once again ideology is clearly shown in the elements of

modality which are in use in the translated text such as *على حد تعبيره*; an expression that carries a high element of modality and angle.

Although the function of both texts is actually to inform receivers about a certain event, we find that some changes have been made with regard to ideological considerations and that is why the translation turned out to be interpersonal and descriptive where readers and ideology are the two prior elements taken into consideration.

By Chadia Nohra

3- Palestinians kill seven as violence escalates

Transitivity: Palestinian suicide bomber killed 9 people.

In ST we have an explicit actor (Palestinian suicide bomber) and the affected participant is Israelis.

In TT: *بعد نحو 12 ساعة من تفجير فلسطيني نفسه*

He is being indirect. We have a change in lexicalization and the actor is implicit. The affected participant is the Palestinian himself then Israelis.

Circumstance: ST: after a Palestinian suicide bomber killed 3 people

TT: *مما أدى الى مقتل 9 أشخاص*

In TT he is being indirect. The actor is very ambiguous as opposed to ST where there is no circumstance of cause but rather an explicit actor which is incriminated.

The translator broke the maxim of manner in the overall translation.

Quoting and reporting: We notice that all quotations are from the Israeli side (an army spokesman said, a witness told Israeli radio, Israeli army says). This somehow reflects bias.

Adaptation:

ST: The mounting Israeli death toll in 17 months of violence was...

TT: *عدد القتلى الاسرائيليين خلال الانتفاضة*

The translator adapted the circumstance because the audience is different. We have different elements of acceptability.

We notice that in TT the sentence: “to take tougher military action against the Palestinians” is not translated. With respect to cognition, this is not accepted by Arabs. To Arabs, Sharon is the symbol of strength and tyranny, and asking him to take “tougher” actions is as if he wasn’t tough enough in the past (or probably lenient). This comparative evaluative adjective cannot be translated because the target text audience would not accept this idea.

Change in Collocations: In ST the Palestinian is called “a suicide bomber”. Here, the translation of the word suicidal is *انتحاري*, but a target text reader who is supposed to be an Arab would definitely not accept this lexical choice. That is the reason why the translator avoided translating it and simply translated it to *تفجير فلسطيني نفسه / فلسطيني*.

Speech acts: Overall speech acts: representative speech acts except for the use of the metaphor “peppered”. The metaphor is used to overlexicalize the Palestinian negative action.

Metaphors maintain the expressive speech act, in addition to *تفجير نفسه* which is expressive and shows sympathy with Palestinians.

By Rana Shayya, Haneen Malaeb, Ghia El Berdan

4- Israeli accused of spying for Hezbollah

4.1 The text shows how ideology can play a major role in the process of translation. The theory that fits the text is skopos theory. The functions of the text can all be adjusted and altered in order to serve a certain purpose. Here we can apply descriptive translation because the translator played on the original meaning by adaptation and maximal mediation. The intratextual features have been changed in the TT. The thematic and rhematic organization as well as collocations reflected cohesion in the text. In the English text, the author focused on the main theme “Nissim and Hezbollah” and attempted to inform us of the relationship between them. In the Arabic text, the main theme changed and the translator now focused on the Israeli claims in which he doesn’t believe as show the modal verbs “ادعت”, “زعم” and the modal expression “وفق ما قالت”. In addition, his sympathy with the Palestinians and his hatred for Israelis is well reflected by the modal changes made to the lexical choice (e.g. Israel: *كيان العدو*, radio: *اذاعة العدو*, etc...) and the

collocations such as “northern Israel central regions: شمال الكيان”. The intentionality of the text shows the translator’s attitude which is based on a much lesser sympathy with Israelis. Other intratextual features or communicative clues that can be noticed and that serve ideology are the repetition such as the repetition of “الكيان” and the synonyms such as “زعم – ادعت”.

By Maya Sawwan

4.2 A positive politeness is dominating on both the ST and the TT. In the ST, there is positive politeness sympathizing with the Israelis and taking their side: “confirmed”. However, in the TT, there is a positive politeness sympathizing with Hezbollah.

Representative speech acts dominate the whole ST because in the ST they believe that what they are writing and publishing is the case and other than this information would be totally wrong. Nevertheless, in the TT it is more argumentative. The translator isn’t taking facts as they are but he is creating an atmosphere of doubt and skepticism such as “- زعمت ادعت – وفق ما قالت”. Implicature also finds its way in the translator’s text. In the TT when he says ادعت he is more likely blaming the Israelis than confirming facts. A very good example about implicature would be in both the ST and the TT “to hand over the information” they are implicating that Nissim of a Jewish mother was forced to do that. Meanwhile in the TT it is “ليبيع معلوماته” they are implicating that he is selling information to the enemy on his own will. The passive voice in a couple of sentences has also benefited the ST’s point of view: “he was also instructed”; “he was asked”.

A whole paragraph was eliminated in the TT “ May 2000... Israelis” because it does not suit the translator’s interest for he is taking Hezbollah’s side. Here the maxims of both quality and quantity were broken. Another maxim of quantity was broken in the TT: Shiite Muslim Fundamentalists movement vs. حزب الله .

By Sara Jbeily

5- Israeli troops kill three Palestinians in West Bank

Process: the process was changed from “killed” to استشهد in order to portray the Palestinians in the TT as martyrs and victims. The element of instrument in the TT “برصاص جيش الاحتلال” is no where to be found in the ST. The agent in the ST is “Israeli soldiers” whereas the translator rendered it “ثلاثة فلسطينيين”, thus the theme also changed. This shift aims to lay focus upon Israel in the ST and the Palestinians in the TT.

An Israeli army spokesman confirmed that Hamas activist Khrwesh had been killed. The process which was passive in the ST, having no agent was rendered “جنود الاحتلال” for the purpose is incriminating the Israeli soldiers. Whereas the ST author chose an agentless process to neutralize the act of killing.

Maxims: The translator did not respect several maxims. The translator eliminated several passages from the ST, e.g. “he had first shot at Israeli troops who returned fire”. The translator did not mention the element of extension that was present in the ST; therefore, the maxim of quality was violated as well. We can conclude that the translator was not faithful to the ST.

The implicatures tend to portray the incident as an Israeli assault on a Palestinian who was trying to defend himself, whereas the ST gives the impression that Israeli troops were the ones defending themselves against an “activist” who opened fire.

The theme “the shootings brought the toll” is marked by means of nominalization to render the deaths incurred by the “intifada” agentless.

With respect to politeness in the ST, we mark a negative politeness by the usage of terms like “Israeli soldiers, troops, army, sources” that legitimize the presence of Israel. Whereas in the TT the translator goes bald on record “متحدث عسكري” “صهيوني، جنود الاحتلال، عدوان واسع، اعتداءات صهيونية، استهداف، عملية توغل” which gives an illegitimate aspects to the presence of the Israeli occupation.

Interpretation: The overall impression as perceived from the ST imprints a negative connotation concerning the Palestinians, describing them as terrorists and suicide bombers linked to “armed factions”, in order to convey a distorted image, complying with the demands of the audience of the ST. On the other hand, the TT presents a negative image of

the Israeli troops by illegitimizing their presence. At the same time they are sympathizing with the Palestinian cause, for they describe their action against the Israelis as “مقاومة اسلامية” and their victims as “شهيد”.

By Jacques el Kik, Hanadi Dagher, Sara Jbeily, Marina el Kotob

6- Israel weighs retaliation for bus bomb

We have a direct speech act where the speaker in the source text is showing how the Israelis are committing themselves to future actions: “Israel Plans to retaliate...” In the TT the translator has maintained the same speech act but with a higher degree of modality: “تعتزم”. Also in the TT the translator uses interpersonal function sympathizing with the Palestinians and trying not to incriminate them: ST: Palestinian suicide bombing that killed 14 people. TT: هجوم انتحاري فلسطيني راح ضحيته 14 قتيلا.

In the ST the maxim of manner was violated “rein in militants” using this metaphor refers that the Palestinians cannot be controlled, they are compared to animals. Whereas in the TT this metaphor is deleted and referred to by “مسؤولية”.

In the ST the writer is bald on record: to punish Yasser Arafat’s Palestinian authority. They show no sympathy with the Palestinians but rather they incriminate them (which is shown differently in the TT). In the TT the translator uses the positive politeness sympathizing with the Palestinians “كما هي العادة عقب أي هجوم انتحاري”. As he uses negative politeness in some situations showing respect towards the Palestinian leader: الرئيس الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات والسلطة الفلسطينية.

Also in the ST there is some use of positive politeness showing solidarity and sympathy with the Israelis “adding to the gloomy mood of Israelis”. The use of the word of Israelis is an element of solidarity interpreted differently in the TT: Using negative politeness and being off-record to keep distance with Israelis. The maxim of quality was broken in the TT.

ST: “militant groups”. TT: الجماعات المتشددة

We have different collocations in both texts expressing in ST the fact that the Palestinians have illegal groups which are not organized whereas in the TT it is interpreted differently showing that the Palestinians are well-organized groups determined on carrying on their resistance.

In both texts the writer refers to a phatic function establishing a relation with the audience: in the ST this relation is tight with the Israelis whereas in the TT the sympathy is towards the Palestinians.

In the ST the use of “violence” incriminating the Palestinians has different collocations in the TT translated as “الوضع”.

In the ST: “in which two Palestinian teenagers detonated their car laden with explosives next to an inter-city bus”. This circumstance of cause giving information about the bombing that took place. Whereas, in the TT the cause circumstance was deleted showing no interest in the secondary information of the bombing. In the ST the cause circumstance “that have carried out the bombings” showing why the Israelis want to punish the Palestinian’s authority and the armed groups. This cause circumstance is deleted incriminating the Israelis for the attacks.

In the ST “suicide bombers have killed scores of Israelis”. It is incriminating the Palestinians making use of an active actor “suicide bombers” and showing the affected participants “Israelis” which is deleted in the TT showing a biased point of view taking the Palestinians side.

In the ST we have a marked theme “adding to the gloomy mood of Israelis”. This theme was foregrounded showing solidarity with the Israelis.

The shifting from the ST into the TT is justified based on the audience to whom the text is addressed. In the ST we see some sympathy towards the Israelis for the text is addressed to a western audience, whereas the TT sympathizes with the Palestinians for the audience is Arab and if the ST was interpreted exactly the same in the TT the Arab audience would feel threatened by the Israelis.

This difference in sympathy is clear in both texts with the use of positive politeness to show solidarity: “adding to the gloomy mood of Israelis” or “كما هي العادة عقب أي هجوم انتحاري”. In each text the positive politeness is used to sympathize with specific party.

By Nayla Abi Aad, Elise Saad

7- 12 dead in Hebron attack

7.1 In the ST we have an agentless sentence “12 dead in Hebron attack” as if to shock the audience with the number of dead people, whereas in the TT: “اسرائيل تبدأ الرد على مقتل 12 مستوطنا في الخليل” incriminates the Israelis. In the ST it is clearly shown that the Israelis were trapped and had nowhere to run “into a narrow alley way”. This circumstance of location is deleted in the TT in order not to victimize the Israelis or to incriminate the Palestinians. Also, in the ST, the expansion “the spate of heavy retaliation” shows that the attacks were the reason why Israelis became aggressive.

In the ST we have the use of positive politeness that reflects sympathy with Israelis incriminating Palestinians: “An ambulance worker said the Israelis were caught in gunfire in an alley leading from the shrine to settler enclaves”.

In the ST the use of “head” in determining a Palestinian leader has different collocation in the TT. In the ST he is given a modifier meant to be for animals, whereas the TT is describing an important leader.

Passive sentences are used in the ST: “Swalha was shot dead by Israeli troops” to lessen the incrimination of the Israelis.

In the TT the circumstance of cause is deleted: “after he threw grenades at the soldiers” in order not to incriminate the Palestinians and to show more sympathy with them.

We can see many differences between the ST and TT when it comes to quotations where in the TT the quotations of Shallah are restored to incriminate Israelis.

By Lynn Waked

7.2 Collocations are realized by the use and repetition of attributes: Israelis, Palestinians... The ST writer collocates Palestinians to verbs like ambushed, killed, attack, were holed up. In the TT the writer collocates Israeli occupation with Israel. Usage of Israeli occupation serves as an excuse to justify the attack on Israelis.

Repetition: *Swalha* was shot dead by Israeli troops. The army said *he* was killed after *he* threw grenades at the soldiers. The repetition of *he* shows incrimination of Swalha to foreground him. The act of killing is justified by throwing grenades at the soldiers (cause).

“Islamic Jihad” and “attack” were used as collocations in the ST noting that using the word Islamic shows an attribute (bias). Head of the military wing was translated into قائد الجناح العسكري. It has a negative connotation in the ST but a positive connotation in the TT. The word “Palestinian” was repeated 5 times in the ST while in the TT it was mentioned 3 times, which shows that the writer of the ST focuses on the Palestinian acts and violence while in the TT the writer ignored the Palestinian acts and focused on Israeli’s actions.

The expression Israeli-Palestinian violence was mentioned in the ST but was deleted from the TT.

In the TT the word “assassination” is collocated with words جريمة، اسرايل، انتقام، هجوم which were added in the TT.

In the TT: انتفاضة فلسطينية ضد الاحتلال has a different cause-effect relation to support the Intifada.

Implicatures and speech acts: *raised the spectre of heavy retaliation* was deleted in the TT. The writer uses expressive implicature to justify the act of Israelis. It was omitted because it defends Israeli actions after the attack.

Heavy fire which poured into vs. (TT) وتعرض المستوطنون لاطلاق كثيف للنيران.

The writer used an expressive illocutionary force in the ST to sympathize with Israelis. It implies the intensive gunfire.

On the other hand, the translator breaks the maxim of manner and quantity and is being very representative.

The attackers were holed up vs. ان المهاجمين يختبئون فيها

The ST writer expressed power within an interpersonal function. The expressive illocutionary force is used to downgrade the Palestinians. It is a very biased language.

Themes: 12 dead in Hebron attack vs. اسرايل تبدأ الرد على مقتل 12 مستوطنا

In the ST the starting point is the dead in the attack. It is focusing on casualties, while in the TT the focus is on Israel which started retaliating for the dead. In the ST the focus is on the cause but in the TT it is on effect.

By Ghia El-Bardan, Hannen Malaeb, Rania Merchak.

APPENDIX D

Names of Translators and Editors Interviewed: Name and Media Source

Hanna Anbar, Herald Tribune and the Daily Star Newspaper

Ibrahim Al-Musawi, Al- Manar TV Station

Mariam Karouny, Reuters Agency

Rania Mahdi, Al-Manar TV Station

Tamara Matar, Al-Manar TV Station

Victor Sahhab, Al-Mustaqbal Newspaper

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